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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES

Notes of Recent Exposition

OCCASIONALLY a theological book appears which so speaks to a need of the day that its worth far exceeds its size and even its positive achievements. Such a book can act as a stimulus to thought and action within the Church, and it is to be hoped that this will be the effect of Professor Hendrik KRAEMER's *A Theology of the Laity*, the Hulsean Lectures, 1958.[1]

The author has many qualifications for his task. Himself a distinguished lay theologian, Dr. KRAEMER was at the centre of the revival of lay life within the Netherlands churches during the War; his directorship of the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey has given him first-hand experience of the awakening of lay thought and action in the churches of many lands. He is thus able, in a few pages, to set before us a picture both of undoubted movements of the Spirit amongst the laity and of questionings concerning the status and function of the laity by members of many denominations. He has little difficulty in showing that, even within Protestantism, the relationship between 'the ministry' (clergy) and 'the laity' lacks any clear theological basis. The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, which created 'The Department of the Laity', began the enquiry which this book seeks to further. Had Dr. KRAEMER been writing from Britain he might well have reminded us that conversations now taking place between Anglicans and Presbyterians, and between Anglicans and Methodists, reveal not only uncertainties about ordination but a lack of any clear theological concept of the laity.

Dr. KRAEMER reminds us that the Greek word *laïkos* (in its Latinized form) entered Western languages as a thoroughly religious word. The '*laos*' are the chosen people of God; all members of the Church are *laïkoi*. Like many other religious words, 'lay' has been secularized, so that it is now used to describe those who are unqualified in some particular sphere of knowledge or practice. This linguistic usage has accompanied tendencies within the Church itself towards thought of the laity as an *inferior* part of the Church. Dr. KRAEMER's historical account of how this happened, within Protestantism as well as within the Mediæval Church, is of great value. Whilst rightly acknowledging the pioneer work of Roman Catholics in the task of rediscovering the theological doctrine of the laity, with special reference to Father Congar's 'Jalons pour une théologie du Laicat' [1953], Dr. KRAEMER writes as a Protestant to Protestants.

At considerable length, he reminds us that the meaning of the laity can only be found in and through consideration of the true nature of the Church and, especially, of the mission of the Church. Here this book is in line with many recent works on the doctrine of the Church, especially those by Newbigin and Dillistone. In stressing that there must be constant remembrance of the Church's need for *renewal*, KRAEMER is in harmony with the teaching of another product of the Ecumenical Movement, W. A. Visser 'T Hooft's 'The Renewal of the Church'.

Controversy is most likely to arise concerning KRAEMER's criticism of the isolation of Sacraments and Word as the *exclusive* marks of the Church and by his claim that discussion about 'rights and validity' and about rival sacramental theories has obscured the Church's understanding of its own nature and impeded the fulfilment of its mission. But Christians who are sympathetically and critically aware of the condition of their own denomination will find it hard to deny what is said on these matters. At the very least we must agree with Dr. KRAEMER that the meaning of the Church as an institution can only be discovered when its dependence upon Christ and the Holy Spirit is dominant in our minds. 'It is just this dependence as the true, vivifying source of its life which marks it off from the rest of the world as a peculiar body. The Church did not enter the world as an institution, but as a community expecting the Kingdom of God. It *became* an institution, but is as such only truly legitimate in so far as it serves this end'. If most of this book is but a prelude to the task to which it calls us, it is wise that it should be so. Much talk about the Church is a waste of time because of confusion concerning what we are talking about.

It is, then, from an examination of the nature and the mission of the Church that Dr. KRAEMER proceeds to his brief contribution towards a theology of the laity. His main thesis is that the New Testament clearly teaches that the Church itself *is* Ministry, is *diakonia*. But the Church is Ministry because, and only because, Christ Himself is Servant, *diakonos*. (He criticizes the familiar

[1] Lutterworth Press; 15s. net.

' prophet, priest and king ' as being an incomplete description of our Lord unless *diakonos* is added.) All Christians are ministers by their incorporation in Christ; this is part of the meaning of ' the people of God '. A minor, but interesting, step in the argument of this chapter is the suggestion that Eph 4^{12} should be read ' for the equipment of the saints for the work of *diakonia* ', not with the customary comma after ' saints ', suggesting a category of ' the ministry '.

The book concludes with a reminder of how much lay theology (as well as lay service in other capacities) is needed to-day. The laity is ' the dispersion in the world '. The theme of the whole book is that the ministry of the ordained clergy and the ministry of the laity are aspects of the same *diakonia*, each in their proper sphere and calling. Much remains to be studied. The book does not fully answer the question, ' What is the specific ministry of the ordained ? ' But its firm Scriptural foundation, its deep concern about world-evangelization, and its provocative replies to questions which are too often ignored or carelessly answered, challenge critical and fearless consideration.

This book will, however, be profoundly misunderstood unless the author's own reiterated emphasis upon the Church as the creation of Christ and the Holy Spirit is central in the reader's mind. It is precisely because that emphasis has become characteristic of most contemporary thought about the Church in all denominations that it has become imperative for us to think about the varied ministries within the Church; for the same reason, it may be hoped, discussion of the subject can now take place without the unchristian motives and prejudices which have too often embittered controversy concerning the status of the clergy. It is just when we discover that Christ is *the* Minister that human ministries are liberated from all thoughts of prestige and priority. It is when the One Essential Ministry is recognized that both lay and ordained ministries can become what, in God's will, they are.

SCHWEITZER'S famous book, ' The Quest of the Historical Jesus ' was published in Germany in 1906 and in English in 1910. It produced a sense of the futility of trying to write an historically accurate account of the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth, and this mood of historical scepticism was increased by *Formgeschichte*, the study of the oral forms of the gospel tradition in the period before it became standardized in our Four Gospels. This study emphasized that the Gospels were the product of the faith of the Early Church. They were, therefore, firsthand, contemporary evidence of that faith, but who could say how much or how little of it corresponded to factual history ? Bultmann, for instance wrote : ' I think that we can now know almost nothing concerning the life and personality of Jesus '.

English scholars on the whole have refused to accept this degree of scepticism. They acknowledge that the faith of the Early Church exercised great influence both in the selection of the material that survived, and also in the form in which it was presented. They have continued to claim, however, that through this material can be discerned a reasonably distinct figure of the One whom the Early Church came to confess as Christ, the Son of God. Dodd, for instance, has vigorously defended the fundamental historicity of the Markan outline. Vincent Taylor, still more recently, has with painstaking care worked out what he believes can be accepted as a valid outline of ' The Life and Ministry of Jesus '. T. W. Manson discusses ' The Sayings of Jesus ' and is able to accept the authenticity of the great majority of those recorded in the Gospels. The same conviction and concern is found also in some Continental scholars. Jeremias, for instance, in ' The Parables of Jesus ', argues that in the parables we can find the ' original bedrock of tradition '; and Riesenfeld in ' The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings ' has sharply challenged some of the assumptions behind *Formgeschichte*, which have quite unjustifiably led to the scepticism of its more extreme conclusions.

The stage appears to be set for *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus*, and this is the title of a new book by Professor J. M. ROBINSON, Dr.Theol., Th.D., which is No. 25 in the ' Studies in Biblical Theology ' published by the Student Christian Movement Press.[1] He believes that the time has come to renew this quest, though in a way very different from that of the earlier Quest. Indeed, he reports that even in the most unlikely quarters —among the followers of Bultmann—the Quest has already begun. He quotes Käsemann, for instance, as declaring categorically that something *can* be known about the historical Jesus, and that this something must be urgently sought : ' We must concern ourselves with working it out, if we do not wish ultimately to find ourselves committed to a mythological Lord '. This is a timely warning.

Professor ROBINSON does not want merely to resume the earlier Quest where it was left off. Indeed, his second chapter bears the defiant title ' The Impossibility and Illegitimacy of the Original Quest '. It is ' impossible ', partly because our

[1] 9s. 6d. net.

sources are concerned to declare Faith and not History, and partly because merely historical enquiry cannot expect to fathom the real significance of Him whom the Church in the *kerygma* declares to be Lord and Saviour.

More surprising and less convincing is his charge of 'illegitimacy'. The attempt to reconstruct a biographical portrait of Jesus (history) instead of accepting humbly and unquestioningly the faith of the Early Church (kerygma) is said to be 'an attempt to build one's existence upon that which is under man's control and invariably at his disposal. The historical Jesus as a proven divine fact is a worldly security with which the *homo religiosus* arms himself in his effort to become self-sufficient before God'. This 'unbelieving flight to security' is the 'reverse of faith'. 'To this extent the original quest came to be regarded as theologically illegitimate'.

'Illegitimate' seems a strong word to use. To affirm that even the most complete recovery of historical fact about the human Jesus will still be 'inadequate' is understandable, but surely no honest enquiry can be stigmatised as 'illegitimate'. If the word became flesh, part of the purpose was that thus the nature of God might be 'declared' (Jn 1^{18}). God used, as it were, the language of a human life that we might the better understand. It seems, therefore, an obvious obligation to learn all we can about the 'flesh' of Jesus (*i.e.* the human Jesus) because by that means God chose to make Himself known to man, though we need to remember, it is true, that what we find is not just an interesting human figure but One in whom God Himself confronted and still confronts the human race.

Professor ROBINSON then proceeds to discuss 'The New Quest' as distinct from the old one. First he deals with the possibility of it. This must begin with a frank recognition that our sources are 'primarily kerygmatic and only secondarily custodians of factual detail'. This, however, does not preclude the Early Church from leaving 'unaltered precisely those sayings and scenes in which Jesus made his intention and understanding of existence most apparent to them'. He quotes a number of such 'authentic sayings', and acknowledges them as 'important historical sources for encountering Jesus' history and person'. We should not, however, expect to be able to reconstruct a chronological biography, as used to be thought possible.

Next Professor ROBINSON turns to the 'legitimacy' of the New Quest. The Old Quest is condemned because it provided a way of 'dodging' the 'call of the kerygma for existential faith in the saving event'. The New Quest, however, will lead to a different conclusion. In this 'the historical Jesus confronts us with existential decision, just as the kerygma does', because it is not designed, as the old one was, 'to avoid commitment of faith'. The Gospels 'retain a concrete story about Jesus, but expand its horizon until the universal saving significance of the heavenly Lord becomes visible in the earthly Jesus'.

This New Quest does not aim at setting the Jesus of History in opposition to the Jesus of Faith, as the Old Quest is said to have done. 'One may well assume that the founder of a sect has something in common with the sect he founds'. The New Quest, therefore, 'is primarily concerned with investigating the area in which Jesus and the Church's *kerygma* overlap'. 'If the existential decision originally called for by the *kerygma* corresponds to the existential decision called for by Jesus, then it is apparent that the *kerygma* continues Jesus' message'.

The closing chapter seeks to show that much in the teaching of Paul is best understood not as a distortion of but a true reflection of the teaching of Jesus. The similarities are the more striking because they appear not as parrot-like repetition of the actual words, but as deeply sympathetic reproductions of the same essential way of thinking.

Professor ROBINSON's criticisms of the Old Quest are not always fair, at any rate not of the representatives of the Old Quest best known in this country. They were in revolt, not so much against the *kerygma*, as against the conventionalised portrait of Jesus familiar in stained glass windows and Bible illustrations, which were by no means identical with the virility of the *kerygma*. Nor did the Jesus of History as presented in the 1920's lack a summons to 'existential decision'; indeed His challenge was more searching and pressing than the conventional message which preceded it. Nor was it a 'flight to security', since it came as a disturbing and demanding encounter with the truth of God. For any who imagined it was an end in itself, it proved a disappointing cul-de-sac. For some, however, it became what the Law had been for the Apostle Paul, a tutor to 'bring them to Christ'.

Some of the book's sharp contrasts, therefore, between the Old and the New Quest seem exaggerated. Moreover the constant use of the technical terms of existentialism makes some of the sentences rather stilted and obscure. This is, however, a timely, stimulating and hopeful book.

Great Themes of the New Testament

V. Revelation xiii.

By the Reverend William Barclay, D.D., The University of Glasgow

It may well be that more ink has been spilled over this chapter than over any other chapter in the New Testament. For all that, it still exercises the fascination of the mysterious, and it still provides material for both the study of the seeker and the ingenuity of the eccentric.

The basic key to this chapter, and indeed to the whole of the Revelation, lies in the fact that in the Revelation we come face to face with an attitude to the State which is quite different from that of any other part of the New Testament. Jesus deliberately refused to be drawn into any statement which would indicate hostility to the State, or refusal to accept obligations to the State (Mt 22^{15-22}, Mk 12^{13-17}, Lk 20^{20-26}). Paul was proud of his Roman citizenship (Ac 21^{39} 22^{25-28}), and never hesitated to use the privileges which it conferred upon him. It was true that for Paul time and time again the fact that he was a citizen had saved him insult and ill-treatment, and that for him the tribunal of the magistrate had been the place of protection from the fury of the mob. It had been so in Philippi (Ac 16), in Corinth (Ac 18), in Ephesus (Ac 19), and in Jerusalem (Ac 21 and 22). It had been Paul's view that the powers that be are ordained of God, and that the Christian must render a conscientious obedience to them (Ro 13^{1-6}). In the Pastoral Epistles it is laid down that prayer is to be made for kings and for all who are in authority (1 Ti 2^{1}). In 1 Peter the injunction is to be a good citizen, to be subject to governors, to fear God, and to honour the Emperor (1 P 2^{13-17}). In 2 Th $2^{6.7}$ the most probable interpretation is that the Roman Empire is the power which alone restrains and postpones the advancing chaos of the end. There is nothing here of opposition or enmity to the State. The whole attitude is that the Christian must accept his obligations to, and the authority of, the State.

But, when we reach the Revelation, all this has changed. Rome is the supreme enemy, the incarnation of devilish and satanic power, the great harlot, the mother of abominations, drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs (Rev $17^{5.6}$), doomed to divine destruction. It is indeed worth noting that Streeter (*The Primitive Church*, 133) regards 1 Peter as a deliberate correction of the Revelation. Streeter does not accept the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter, and he regards it as contemporary with the Revelation in the time of Domitian. He regards 1 Peter as written by a man who is inside the official structure of the Church and the Revelation as written by a man who is not. To the writer of the Revelation the civil power is on the side of Satan. 'In 1 Peter 4^{12}–5^{11} we have the reaction from within of the man who is responsible for the Church. . . . He knows that it is dangerous to teach that kind of thing in a Levantine slum. Like Paul, he recognizes in the Roman Empire, with all its faults, a power that upholds law, order, and civil justice. He had himself, perhaps only a year or two earlier [Streeter sees 1 Peter as composed of two separate documents], urged his people to look on rulers as sent by God "for vengeance on evil-doers and for praise to them that do well". It is no longer possible for him to speak so. But he will still urge the Christians not to lose their heads ($4^{12f.}$); and, above all, not to come into conflict with the authorities in so far as they do function legitimately as the upholders of law and order.' It is not necessary to accept all Streeter's position to agree that the Revelation manifests a new hostility to the State which has no parallel in the rest of the New Testament. Whence, then, does this new opposition spring?

The basic background of the Revelation is Cæsar-worship, and without some understanding of Cæsar-worship it is not possible to understand the Revelation; and that is specially true of this chapter.

Cæsar-worship did not begin as Cæsar-worship; it began as the worship of Rome. In the beginning it was not imposed on the people; it emerged from the people as an act of gratitude. It was especially strong in Asia Minor. E. J. Goodspeed (*An Introduction to the New Testament*, 240) writes: 'It was the glory of the Roman Empire that it brought peace to a troubled world. Under its sway the regions of Asia Minor and the East enjoyed tranquillity and security to an extent and for a length of time unknown before and probably since. The provincial, under Roman sway, found himself in a position to conduct his business, provide for his family, send his letters, and make his journeys in security, thanks to the strong hand of Rome.' It was little wonder that men saw something divine in the spirit of Rome. The first temple to

the spirit of Rome was erected in Smyrna in 195 B.C. (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 56). This worship of Rome went steadily on ; we hear, for instance, in 98 B.C. of priests of Rome being present at a compact between Ephesus and Sardis.

But worship of the goddess Roma is not yet Cæsar-worship. The actual worship of the Emperor arose from two circumstances. First, there is the quite general fact that the worship of Roma was the worship of an abstraction, the spirit of Rome ; and that abstraction was personalized and incarnated in the person of the Emperor. It was easier to worship the incarnation of the spirit of Rome than the spirit of Rome itself. Second, the last days of the Republic had not been happy for Asia Minor. Asia was the richest of all the provinces, and Asia had suffered most of all from the rapacity of avaricious Roman officials, who were willing to stoop to any crime to enrich themselves quickly in their short tenure of office. Augustus changed all that. 'Augustus had been a saviour to the Asian peoples, and they deified him as "the Saviour of mankind", and worshipped him with the most whole-hearted devotion as the God incarnate in human form, the "present deity". He alone stood between them and death or a life of misery and torture. They hailed the birthday of Augustus as the beginning of a new year, and worshipped the incarnate God in public and in private' (W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 114, 115). The worship of Rome began in gratitude ; and it was another wave of gratitude which turned it into the worship of the Emperor. H. B. Swete (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, p. lxxxv) quotes from an inscription which describes Octavian as 'the benefactor of the race of men, who has not only fulfilled our greatest hopes, but has even surpassed them, for the land and the sea are safe, and cities flourish in peace, in concord, and in prosperity'. The result of this was that the first temple was erected to the godhead of Cæsar in 29 B.C. at Pergamum (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 37). From that time on in Asia cities struggled for the right to erect temples to the Emperor's godhead, and to gain the honourable title νεωκόρος, which means 'temple-sweeper', of such a temple. Before the end of the first century A.D. of the cities mentioned in the Revelation Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea all possessed such temples.

But we have to go on to ask, how did this Cæsar-worship become the deadly enemy of the Church, and the greatest threat to the Christian ? This did not happen all at once. It is quite clear that the early Emperors were embarrassed by this worship. So far from encouraging it, they discouraged it. Augustus forbade it in Italy, and forbade it for citizens. It might be suitable for excitable Levantines, but it was entirely out of place for sober Roman citizens. Tiberius followed the example of Augustus. 'He forbade the voting of temples, flamens and priests in his honour, and even the setting up of statues and busts without his permission ; and this he gave only with the understanding that they were not to be placed among the likenesses of the gods, but among the adornments of the temples' (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 26). Once, when he was called 'Lord' (*dominus*) he rebuked the speaker for using insulting language, and when another spoke of his 'sacred duties' he substituted the word 'laborious' (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 27). Tacitus says that Tiberius had a strong contempt for honours. He describes how he did allow Pergamum to erect a temple in his honour, simply because Augustus had already done so, but he goes on to tell how Tiberius flatly refused to allow an application from Further Spain to erect a temple to him. Tacitus puts a lengthy speech into his mouth in which he says that 'it would be a vain and arrogant thing to receive the sacred honour of images representing the divine throughout all the provinces.' 'I am mortal', he said, 'and limited to the functions of humanity' (Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 37, 38).

The situation altered with Caligula, but the alteration was abnormal, because Caligula was an epileptic and a madman. Suetonius begins his account of Caligula's claims savagely : 'So much for Caligula as an emperor ; we must now tell of his career as a monster'. He ordered that the statues of the gods should be brought from Greece, their heads removed, and his head put in their place. He made the temple of Castor and Pollux the vestibule of his palace and took his place between them. He erected a temple to his own godhead, complete with a priesthood, and in it a life-size statue of himself in solid gold. He talked confidentially to Jupiter Capitolinus and built a bridge from his house to the Capitol. He invited the moon to his embraces and to his bed ; and he executed those who were not prepared to swear by his godhead (Suetonius, *Gaius Caligula*, 22, 27). He very nearly precipitated a most dangerous situation by insisting that his image should be erected in the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, xvii. 7 and 8). An army was collected to enforce this order, but fortunately he died before the storm could burst. Amongst the early Emperors Caligula stands alone in demanding worship as a god.

Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, was far from being a reputable character, but he had none of Caligula's desire for deification. It is true that a temple was erected to him in Ephesus, and another in Camulodunum in Britain. It was this temple which produced Boadicea's revolt, for the people

of Britain regarded it as 'a citadel of perpetual tyranny', and its priesthood financially ruined those who were compelled to undertake it (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 31). But on his accession the people of Alexandria sought permission to erect a temple to him and to organize a priesthood and he replied: 'I deprecate the appointment of a high priest to me, and the erection of temples, for I do not wish to be offensive to my contemporaries, and I hold that sacred fanes and the like have by all ages been attributed to the immortal gods as peculiar honours' (P. Lond, 1912; A. S. Hunt and G. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, ii. 80, 81).

Nor did Nero, the next Emperor, take his divinity seriously, or desire it. He was more eager to be greeted for his triumphs and for his victories as a flute-player, an actor and a charioteer, and to hear the people, as Dion Cassius tells, acclaim him on his return from Greece with eighteen hundred artistic victories to his credit with the shouts: 'Victories Olympic! Victories Pythian! Nero the Hercules! Nero Apollo! Sacred One!' Tacitus tells that Cerualis Anicius, the consul-elect, proposed that a public temple should be built to the divine Nero, implying that he 'had transcended all mortal grandeur and deserved the adoration of mankind', but this was interpreted as more likely to bring death 'seeing that divine honours are not paid to an Emperor until he has ceased to live among men' (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 74). It might have been expected that Nero would have claimed divine honours, but he shrank, perhaps superstitiously, from them. The Flavian Emperors, Titus and Vespasian, also accepted Cæsar-worship as it was, but did nothing at all to develop, or to demand it.

Then with Domitian there came the sudden and the violent change. As we have seen, Tiberius refused to be addressed as 'Lord' (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 27). Augustus before him had made the same refusal. Once, when he was present in the theatre, the play contained the words,

'O just and gracious Lord!'

At the words all the people sprang to their feet and applauded, as if the words had been addressed directly to Augustus. Both by look and gesture he silenced them, and on the next day rebuked them in an edict (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 53). With Domitian it was very different. When he was reconciled to his divorced wife, he said that he had recalled her 'to the divine couch', using a word which was the technical word for the couch of the gods. When he entered the theatre, he delighted to hear the people cry, 'Good fortune attend our Lord and his lady!' He began a circular letter: 'Our Lord and God (*dominus et deus noster*) bids this be done'. From then onwards this was the only way in which he might be addressed either in speech or in writing (Suetonius, *Domitian*, 13). Here we are on the verge of Cæsar-worship, not tolerated, but demanded. And here we are at the time of the Revelation.

We have now seen how Cæsar-worship grew from a spontaneous emergence to an imperial demand. But there was still a further step to take. The Roman Empire was vast and heterogeneous, extending as it did from Britain to the Euphrates and from the Danube to North Africa. Some kind of unifying principle was a necessity. The great unifying principle is a common religion. None of the local cults had it in it to become universal, *but Cæsar-worship had*. So in the end Cæsar-worship became what Mommsen called 'the keystone of imperial policy'. It became the means of unifying the Empire. Once a year all men had to come to the temple of Cæsar to burn their pinch of incense, and to say: 'Cæsar is Lord'. We have to note two things. First, this was obviously far more a matter of political loyalty than of religious devotion. It was an act whereby a man declared his allegiance to Cæsar and to Rome. Second, it remains true that Rome was characteristically tolerant. Cæsar-worship was never meant to be exclusive; once a man had affirmed his loyalty to Cæsar and to the godhead of Cæsar, he could go and worship any god he liked, so long as the worship did not conflict with public order and public decency. Having paid his respects to the godhead of Cæsar, a man received a certification that he had done so. One from A.D. 250 runs: 'To the commissioners of sacrifices from Aurelia Demos, without patronymic, daughter of Helena and wife of Aurelius Irenæus, of the quarter of the Hellenium. I have always been wont to sacrifice to the gods, and now also in your presence, in accordance with the command, I have made sacrifice and libation and tasted the offering, and I request you to certify my statement. Farewell. (Signed) I, Aurelia Demos, have presented this declaration. I, Aurelius Irenæus wrote for her, as she is illiterate. (Attested), Aurelius Sabinus, prytanis, saw you sacrificing. (Dated) The first year of the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 20' (P. Ryl. 12; A. S. Hunt and G. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, ii. [No. 319, Loeb Classical Library]).

Here, then, was the Christian situation which was threatening, even if in the time of Revelation it had not yet completely emerged. No Christian would ever take the name 'Lord' and give it to any one other than Jesus Christ; no Christian would ever compromise by first sacrificing to the godhead of Cæsar, and then going away and being a Christian. Therefore, the simple fact was that every Christian was automatically regarded as a

disaffected citizen and a criminal worthy of death. The choice was quite simple—Cæsar or Christ? In Sir William Watson's lines :

So to the wild wolf Hate were sacrificed
The panting, huddled flock, whose crime was Christ.

The Church and the Empire were over against each other—and none had ever withstood the might of Rome. Here is the situation against which the Revelation was written, and here is the particular background of its thirteenth chapter. So, then, we approach this chapter always reading it in the light of the fact that for John of the Revelation the Roman Empire is the embodiment of satanic power and Cæsar-worship is the wickedness in which that satanic power finds its peak.

The beast arises from the sea ; that is to say, for some one in Asia Minor the beast comes from the West, that is, from Rome, just as the eagle does in 4 Ezra 2^{1}. The beast has seven heads and ten horns. The heads and the horns stand for power. The seven heads of the beast are said in 17^{9} to be the seven hills on which the evil woman sits, that is, the seven hills of Rome. But it is quite clear that in this passage the heads stand for persons. They stand for the seven deified Emperors of Rome. There is nothing impossible or even difficult in the fact that the seven heads stand both for Rome and for the Emperors of Rome, for Rome was incarnated in her Emperors. The seven Emperors for whom the seven heads stand are Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Titus, Vespasian, and Domitian. The ten horns are more difficult. There are three main possibilities. (*a*) R. H. Charles thinks that John is working, not with material which he, so to speak, invented, but with ancient mythological material. It, therefore, sometimes happens that not all the details of John's ancient material fit into John's picture. Charles, therefore, thinks that the ten horns are no more than an archaic survival from the material which John took over, and that it is unnecessary, and indeed impossible, to attach any symbolic meaning to them. (*b*) It is just possible that the ten horns have to do with the ten main provinces of the Roman Empire—Italy, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany. The horns would then be the governors of these provinces, who exercised the imperial power, and who exercised it to impose Cæsar-worship on the people. (*c*) Perhaps the third explanation is the most likely. In the list of seven Emperors as we have given it there are in fact three names missing. After the death of Nero there came a time of chaos during which there were three Emperors in little more than eighteen months—Galba, Otho and Vitellius. These Emperors cannot really be said to be heads, but they can be said to be horns, because for their brief space they did exercise the power of Rome. It is at least true that the beast symbolizes Rome, and the seven heads and the ten horns stand for those who exercised the imperial power. This is the more certain in that on the heads there were διαδήματα, that is *royal crowns*, not στέφανοι, which would be *victors' crowns*. The horns bear the symbol of imperial majesty.

On the heads there were names—the plural is the better reading—of blasphemy. There is no difficulty in finding imperial titles, which would seem to the Christians names of blasphemy. The standard name was of course σεβαστος or Augustus, which means *reverend, to be worshipped*, an adjective which belongs to God by right and which it would be blasphemous for any human being to annex to himself. Frequently in edicts the later Emperors' names are preceded by the word θεός or *divus, deified*. Here, indeed, was a name which was an insult to God. Often the Emperors were addressed by the title σωτηρ, Saviour ; and a Christian would look with a shudder of horror at any man taking to himself the title which was the title of Jesus Christ. But it may be that John is thinking in particular of one word. The commonest of all titles for the Emperor was κύριος, *dominus, lord*. That became the automatic title of the Emperor. 'Cæsar is Lord' may well be said to be the creed of the Roman Empire ; 'Jesus Christ is Lord' may well be said to be the creed of the Church. The application of the word κύριος to any human being would be the supreme blasphemy since for the Christian it was the name of Jesus, and for the Jew it was the word in the LXX by which the sacred name was translated into Greek.

The beast was like a leopard with a bear's feet and a lion's mouth. Here John's picture goes back to Dn 7^{3-7} in which the world empires are described in terms of beasts, for there was no other way in which to describe them. Babylonia, Media, Persia, Greece are so described. The interesting and significant fact is that the beast in the Revelation is a kind of composite figure made up of all the beasts in Daniel. The point is that the Roman Empire for John includes in itself the sum total of all wickedness that has ever been and ever can be. The dragon is Satan, the Devil (12^{8-9}), and to the beast the devil has given his power and his authority. That is to say Satan exercises his power through the satanic wickedness of the Roman Empire and in particular through Cæsar-worship. Here is a principle which is eternally valid, and which is eternally a warning. God is ever looking for men to use, and so is Satan. Just as God is seeking for hands to do His work, so is Satan. Good seeks to express itself in the world, and so does evil, and both can only express themselves through persons. Both men and nations

have the choice of allowing themselves to be used by God or the devil.

One of the heads had the appearance of having been dead, and of being restored to life again. Here is a picture of a kind of diabolical resurrection, and it comes from an idea which haunted Rome for many a day; it comes from the *Nero Redivivus*, the Nero Resurrected legend. Such was the joy of the people that they danced in the streets when Nero died (Suetonius, *Nero*, 57). It may be that there was a kind of vague idea that Nero was so wicked as to be immortal in his wickedness. There was a belief that he was not dead. There were some who still read out his edicts, as if he was still alive, and would come back to deal death and destruction to his enemies. It was indeed said that during his life-time astrologers had told Nero that he would lose his throne, but would find another in the East, some said in Jerusalem, some in Parthia (Suetonius, *Nero*, 40). As early as A.D. 69 a pretender emerged to claim that he was Nero (Tacitus, *History*, ii. 8, 9). He was variously described as a slave from Pontus or a freedman from Italy. He was, like Nero, a skilful harp-player and he bore a certain resemblance to him. He gained a following among those whom Tacitus called 'deserters and needy vagrants'; he even seduced some soldiers from their loyalty. Achaea and Asia Minor were in a highly explosive condition. The adventurer took to sea, but was pursued by Galba's emissary Calpurnius Asprenas, and was finally killed. In A.D. 80 another pretender arose; and finally in A.D. 88 still another pretender arose, this time in Parthia, and came within an ace of launching the armies of Parthia against Rome (Tacitus, *History*, i. 2; Suetonius, *Nero*, 51). The prevalence of this *Nero Redivivus* legend is shown by its prominence in the *Sibylline Oracles*. His imagined flight to the East is described: 'Then shall flee from Babylon [that is, Rome] a king fearful and shameless whom all mortals and all the best men loathe. For he destroyed many and laid his hands on the womb [that is, murdered his mother] and sinned against wives and was born of abominable parentage. He shall come to the Medes and the kings of the Persians, . . . making his lair with these evil men against the true people' (v. 143–149). His return is pictured: 'There shall come from the ends of the earth a matricide fleeing and devising sharp-edged plans in his mind. He shall ruin all the earth, and gain all power, . . . And he shall destroy many men and great tyrants, and shall burn all men as none ever did' (v. 363–369). 'To the west shall come the strife of gathering war, and the exile from Rome, brandishing a mighty sword, crossing the Euphrates with many myriads' (iv. 137–139).

In the popular mythology of the latter half of the first century there was deeply embedded this picture of the returning Nero, *Nero Redivivus*, Nero Resurrected. At least in some spheres of Christian thought *Nero Redivivus* and Antichrist coalesced. The coming Antichrist was thought of in terms of *Nero Redivivus*.

That is the picture in our chapter. There is a kind of climax of evil. The Roman Empire is the instrument of Satan, the earthly body through which Satan exercises his power. That evil is centred in Cæsar-worship which took the name Lord from Christ and gave it to Cæsar, and which tried to coerce all men into doing likewise. And this evil power will find its most terrible manifestation in the return to life of the head that was wounded to death, in the coming of Nero-Antichrist, who would try with still more power and cruelty to impose this evil worship upon men and to dethrone God and Jesus Christ.

[*To be continued.*]

Literature

MYTH, RITUAL, AND KINGSHIP

In the many remarkable developments which have taken place in Old Testament studies during the past few decades, few books have exercised a wider influence than the two volumes edited by Professor S. H. Hooke—'Myth and Ritual' [1933] and 'The Labyrinth' [1935]. The essays contained in these volumes reflected important developments in *Religionsgeschichte* generally and new perspectives in the study of Old Testament religion. Since they first appeared, the steadily increasing stream of works on kingship in the Old Testament, the New Year Festival, and the Israelite cult provides ample evidence of the stimulus which they provided. Now a third volume has appeared, surveying the themes of *Myth and Ritual* in the light of the new material now available and of the debate which has been in progress for the past twenty-five years. It is *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel*, edited by Professor S. H. Hooke (Clarendon Press; 35s. net); and it contains nine essays, eight of which were delivered in the University of Manchester in 1955 and 1956.

Whatever justification there may be for applying the term 'school' to the contributors to

'Myth and Ritual', it is quite inappropriate as a description of the authors of these new essays. In some parts of the volume sharp differences of approach and outlook are manifest. In others the views associated with the Myth and Ritual group are accepted only with considerable reserve and qualification.

Four essays are concerned with the evidence from outside Israel. Professor Sidney Smith expounds the practice of kingship in the early Semitic Kingdoms and the association of kings with seasonal rituals. He maintains strongly that the basic features of the sacred marriage certainly appear in different parts of the ancient Near East. Professor H. W. Fairman re-examines the Egyptian kingship rituals, dealing particularly with the making of the king, the king in action, and the passing of the kingship. The Hittite conception of kingship is discussed by Dr. O. R. Gurney, who finds in the relevant material only 'sporadic hints of divinity' and no evidence for a cult of living kings. The Ras Shamra texts are discussed by Professor R. De Langhe of Louvain. These texts were just beginning to be available when 'Myth and Ritual,' was published. Since then they have been extensively used in attempts to reconstruct Canaanite religion and to assess its influence on the religion of Israel. De Langhe is cautiously critical of some of the more imaginative reconstructions of ritual on the basis of the poetic texts.

Three essays refer directly to the Old Testament. Professor Geo Widengren of Uppsala, one of the most learned and independent of contemporary Scandinavian scholars, contributes an essay entitled 'Early Hebrew Myths and their Interpretation'. In the treatment of the Ras Shamra material this essay presents a marked contrast with De Langhe's survey; and in its discussion of the Old Testament evidence it emphasizes by dissimilarity the extreme reserve of the essay which follows it. This is by Professor A. R. Johnson and is a discussion of Hebrew conceptions of kingship, surveying the course of scholarly debates and in part restating the writer's revised views which appeared in his important work, 'Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel'. Great reserve also marks the contribution of Professor H. H. Rowley on ritual and the Hebrew prophets. While rejecting the view which would set the prophets in unqualified opposition to the cult and in direct antithesis to the priesthood, and admitting that there is evidence in the Old Testament of close links between prophets and the sanctuaries, he declines to include all prophets within the category of cultic functionaries or to accept the presence of extensive cultic liturgies in the prophetic canon.

The first and last essays in the collection may be taken together. Indeed, it is a profitable exercise to read each in comparison with the other. In the last, Professor S. G. F. Brandon offers a critical review of the Myth and Ritual theory, advancing arguments against it but also recognising its stimulating influence. In the first, Professor Hooke himself answers some of the most important criticisms which have been made of 'Myth and Ritual', notably by Professors Birkeland and Frankfort. This is an impressively balanced piece of reasoning, in which one of the most significant features is the admission that the distinctive tradition in 'the true religion of Israel' goes back beyond the eighth-century prophets to Moses and Abraham.

Professor Hooke is to be congratulated in having brought together so distinguished a team of scholars and provided us with fare considerably more satisfying than is often found in collective works.

G. W. Anderson

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The Tyndale Press has published a well written book, excellently printed and produced, on Biblical archaeology by Mr. D. J. Wiseman of the British Museum—*Illustrations from Biblical Archaeology* (12s. 6d. net). It contains a double-paged map and a hundred and seventeen good photographic illustrations of archaeological discoveries in Palestine and the Near-East, which will be of great value to teachers and of considerable interest to Biblical students. Its usefulness in Biblical studies is increased by the arrangement of the discoveries in chronological order of the historical periods to which they belong, from the Dawn of Civilization through the Patriarchal Age, Egypt and the Exodus, the Days of the Kings, the Exile and After, to the New Testament Times; there is an excellent final chapter on the history of Biblical archaeology, its methods and results; and a useful bibliography of seven pages.

Two mistakes are probably misprints: Shalmaneser lists Ahab as having two thousand, not two hundred chariots (56), and an *ayin* is omitted from the transliteration of Jeroboam's name (58)—mistakes made by Mullo Weir and Diringer respectively in 'Documents from Old Testament Times'. More serious, for putting the book into the hands of students, is the extent to which the author has succumbed to the twin temptations of all who try to popularize archaeological results: dogmatizing on subjects outside the scope of archaeology, and drawing important conclusions unwarranted by the archaeological evidence. Mr. Wiseman, referring to the relationship between archaeology and the

Bible, rightly says that 'Dogmatism must be avoided when parallels are drawn' (83) and 'If progress is to be maintained in Biblical archaeology as a scientific study great care is needed both in the selection of facts from archaeology as a whole, and in the integration of the evidence with the proved results of Old Testament scholarship' (102). Very true, but there are places in the book where more care could have been exercised. The similarities between Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of creation are explained 'as due to both versions going back to common primary facts' as though there were evidence for a common, factual history of creation (8); have Kyle and Albright really 'shown' that Sodom, Gomorrah and Zoar lie beneath the waters of the Dead Sea, and should there not be some qualification to the conclusion that 'as a whole the picture in Genesis is historical'? (30). That Joseph lived in the Hyksos age has not been proved (33), and in view of Miss Kenyon's own conclusions, excavations at Jericho should not be quoted as probably supporting the author's date for the Exodus (46). It is misleading to assert that Jeroboam's appeal for help to Egypt led to the invasion by Shishak (55), and that Dt 28 and Jos 24 are earlier than 672 B.C. (66). To insert the name Shebna in the tomb inscription (59 f.) is rather like building a pyramid on its apex, as is also the reference to Ashkelon and the papyrus letter from Saqqarah (70)—the letter, discussed by Professor Winton Thomas in the 'Palestine Exploration Quarterly' [Jan.-April, 1950], makes no mention of Ashkelon and is only dubiously referred to that kingdom or period. Is there a good reason for giving the personal name Baal to the deities on p. 99? and is it not a little far-fetched to describe a coin of a type used for a hundred and ninety-five years as possibly the silver piece used to bribe Judas? (Fig. 95).

The book is worthy of criticism because it is a pity that so excellent a book should have blemishes that prevent teachers commending it confidently to students; they could easily be removed when the book is re-issued—as it certainly will be.

In contrast to Mr. Wiseman's book, another recent publication can best be described as a historical or archaeological novel—*Babylon*, by A. Champdor, translated and adapted by Elsa Coult (Elek Books; 30s. net). It is the second volume of the series 'Ancient Cities and Temples', and sets Babylon in the history of Mesopotamia, telling the interesting story of its life, its kings, its people, and its deities. There are, apart from maps, nearly one hundred full-page, beautiful illustrations of relevant objects in the British Museum and the Louvre, many of them in colour. The story is told in a fascinating way with a wealth of imagination which, to quote the author's judgment on Cyrus's account of the fall of Babylon, makes it difficult to disentangle fact from fiction; there is an emphasis on Assyrian and Babylonian cruelty which would earn the book an H-certificate if it were filmed, and which often appears to lack full justification from contemporaneous sources—the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem (94 f.), the last, demon-haunted days of Nebuchadnezzar (116 ff.), the character and festivals of Ishtar the goddess of fertility and love, are vividly reconstructed. As background material for the struggle of the prophet Jonah against God's command, the Jewish hatred of the Babylonians, and the stories of the Book of Daniel, the book is useful, but the illustrations alone are worth the price of the book.

J. N. Schofield

LUKAN STUDIES

The commonplace designation *Luke-Acts* is a convenient way of saying that the writings of St. Luke constitute 'the largest single coherent literary bloc within the New Testament . . . united by common themes, internal parallelisms, and continuity of plot'. That this can be said so easily to-day is largely due to Professor Henry J. Cadbury's insistence on one work, not merely one author, in *The Making of Luke-Acts* [1927]. We welcome, at long last, a second edition of this notable book (S.P.C.K.; 18s. 6d. net). The work of the intervening generation has so endorsed Cadbury's judgments that the new edition has been produced photographically with but a few minor corrections. Cadbury's concern was with the actual *writing* of Luke-Acts as a fact which 'by its concreteness, its verifiable fitness to its historical setting and its irrefutable revelation of its author's mind, times, and heart, can lend to our study of Scripture an element of historical certainty and human interest'. It is all to the good, therefore, that an interesting and original study of the *teaching* of St. Luke should appear at the same time. Mr. Adrian Hastings considers that St. Luke has been neglected as being less primitive than St. Mark and St. Matthew and less profound than St. John. Nor is it sufficient to describe his contribution to Christian thought as 'the gospel of mercy or the universal gospel'. A new approach to a coherent view of St. Luke's peculiar theology and exegesis is suggested in the title of Hastings' book, *Prophet and Witness in Jerusalem* (Longmans; 16s. net). The interpretation of Jesus as the new Elijah and of Paul as the great witness, linked with Jerusalem as a theological rather than geographical concept, while keeping firmly to orthodox interpretation opens up many new lines of thought, with, here and there, penetrating insights. The author's impartial use of,

and indebtedness to, scholars on either side of the great divide lends to his work a gracious catholicity peculiarly appropriate to his subject.

MARCUS WARD

THE LATTER PROPHETS

The scope and purpose of *The Latter Prophets*, by Mr. T. Henshaw, M.A. (Allen and Unwin ; 30s. net), are much the same as those of his book on New Testament Literature. The prophetical writings from Amos to the latter part of Zechariah are dealt with in what is generally considered to be their chronological order. The contents of each book are analysed and an account is given of the life and character of the individual prophet, together with an assessment of his permanent contribution to our religious heritage. There are chapters on the historical and archaeological backgrounds of the prophets, on prophecy in general, and on the forms and characteristics of Hebrew poetry. In some ways Mr. Henshaw does more than the title of his book demands ; for example, his historical and archaeological summaries bring us down to the first century B.C., and some of the seven Appendices, one of which is on Feasts and Fasts (including even Purim and Nicanor) might have been omitted. But a compendious treatment of this kind may well be useful to the non-graduate student for whom the book is primarily intended. Some chapters, for example that on Ezekiel, are better than others, and Mr. Henshaw should know that ' A Jewish damsel shall have a son who shall be called Immanuel ' is by no means the last word on the Immanuel passage (Is 7^{14}). The bibliography is rather a mixed bag—who is the R. N. (sic !) North who wrote *Isaiah, 40–55* [1952] ? and the student working without a tutor is given no guidance as to what he should read next. But in these days when so many students are reading the Old Testament seriously, there is room for plenty of books, and here is one to be recommended.

C. R. NORTH

EXPLORING EXPLANATION

THE impact of the empirical methods of modern thought upon the received tradition of Christian orthodoxy has been considerable and challenging, and the critical nature of the impact has been deepened by recent developments in linguistic philosophy. We have become so familiar with ' scientific explanation ' and ' historical explanation ' that we tend to assume no theological assistance is required to make the world ' plain '. The term ' explanation ' is becoming secularized. Furthermore the analysts of language, with their demand for criteria for the verifiability of statements, incline to regard theological statements as little more than a polite admission of ignorance, if not in fact meaningless sentences.

The need to inquire into the legitimacy and importance of ' theological explanation ' is therefore a pressing requirement of our time. With this issue and from one particular angle the Rev. G. F. Woods deals in his recent book, *Theological Explanation* (Nisbet ; 27s. 6d. net). Mr. Woods is Fellow and Chaplain of Downing College, and his book is based on the Stanton Lectures in Philosophy of Religion which were delivered at Cambridge University in the period 1953–56.

In view of the critical contemporary situation Mr. Woods thinks an inquiry to see how it is possible to explain and expound anything at all might clarify our methodological confusion and lead to a more sympathetic attitude to the nature and claims of theological terms. His presentation of this is highly interesting and important.

The opening Part 1 of his book gives a concise and balanced account of the present theological situation. It shows, he says, the need to study afresh the act of explanation. To this topic he devotes the five important chapters of Part 2, where the act of explanation is analysed in relation to the impersonal, the personal, the historical. But in view of the limitations of our empirical methods we can hardly suppress the instinctive reaching forward to explanation of an ultimate kind. It is at this point that the thesis underlying the whole inquiry becomes vital for the author. Mr. Woods' central argument is that *all* our methods of explanation spring from the fact that we are personal beings. In the experience of being ourselves we derive the capacity to discern what is not plain, and the means of clarifying what we find obscure. It is therefore legitimate, indeed it is a duty towards our thinking and our living, to explore the capacity of personal being to serve as a means of ultimate explanation. The analogical use of these means is precisely what theology in all its venturings of expression is. That these venturings are not so limited as some suppose is indicated in the all too brief but illuminating consideration in the final Part 4 of the Christian doctrine of creation, of Jesus as the Word of God, and of the moral standard. Mr. Woods adds to his book an appreciative reference to the work of Dr. Bultmann, for in him there is the attempt to apply the category of the personal for a contemporary expression of the gospel message.

This book in its fair and balanced progression of argument is a fine piece of what may be called apologetic and doctrinal prolegomena. No student of theology can read it without being better equipped for discerning the transitory and the

enduring factors present in the Christian forms of ultimate explanation.

J. Macleod

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Miss Margaret Avery is aware of how varied the constituency in a secondary modern school may be but she considers that those pupils do constitute an important group for whom special provision must be made. In *Religious Education in the Secondary Modern School* (Religious Education Press; 7s. 6d. net) she seeks to help their teachers in two main ways. First, she suggests how the most suitable material in the existing syllabuses could be arranged and modified to give such pupils a worthwhile course before their earlier leaving age. Then, she makes her own approach to various themes, such as the Bible, Christian Ethics, Christian doctrine, which deserve a place in the curriculum, as a basis to the construction of new schemes. There are good chapters on worship, on the place of specialist teachers, and a most helpful appendix on 'Books and Equipment'. Miss Avery herself says that not only in Scripture but in all subjects in secondary modern schools more experiment both with content and method is required, and one would doubt whether some of her own approaches are bold enough, or whether enough departure is made from the familiar patterns in a situation where, as the author realistically observes, 'many pupils cannot read'. But her concern that these pupils should have schemes to meet their need and to stretch their minds, as well as her practical suggestions, may stimulate others to try new ways. Nor is Miss Avery afraid to stand in positions which some have come to regard as old-fashioned, to uphold 'explicit instruction on Christian belief' and to state 'It may be expedient to be told what *not* to do as well as to receive positive instruction'. This, however, is more a book for the specialist than the same author's 'Teaching Scripture'.

A Book of Bible Activities, by Mr. Norman J. Bull, M.A. (Hulton Educational Publications; limp covers 4s. 6d., boards 5s. 6d. net), is an impossible book to describe but most definitely a book for all who teach the Bible to go and buy immediately. The author in his Preface says 'The purpose of this book is simple. Any child with a Bible, pencil, and paper, should derive hours of interesting and useful activity from it'. This is true, and as a Sunday School prize, what could be more appropriate. But any minister or teacher who wants to get children working with their Bible, will welcome some of the ideas given here. He will also find illustrations (pictures and charts and diagrams) and information, very often desired and difficult to find under one cover, for example, the section on 'How the Jews Thought the World Was Made'. Mr. Bull is to be congratulated on his industry and ingenuity in producing so useful a book.

Bible Readings and Prayers for a School Year, compiled by Miss M. E. Jarvis, M.A. (S.C.M.; 12s. 6d. net) and *Prayer Time in the Junior School*, by the Rev. Roderic Dunkerley, B.D., Ph.D., and Gregor H. Dunkerley (University of London Press; 5s. net), make an interesting contrast. The first seems to have in view the leading of school worship in a formal setting with something of the order and dignity of the church service, however brief the time. For each day a Scripture sentence, a Scripture reading, and a prayer in collect form is given—all linked in theme. The short services are arranged in terminal pattern so that all aspects of Christian faith and life are presented and the seasons of the natural and Christian year observed. Skilful selection is made of Scripture—sometimes cleverly abbreviating longer passages or setting shorter passages on kindred themes side by side. One weakness—a consequence perhaps of the form of most of the prayers—is that there seems to be more of 'ourselves' than 'others' and less noticeable emphasis on thanksgiving and intercession than on petition. But pupils in secondary schools would benefit from such services, or even by using the book as a book of daily devotion.

The second is much more related to the classroom than the church, more a Teachers' Guide than a Service Book. Its unorthodox orders of services, its prayers often in very ordinary speech, its use of gramophone music, its unliturgical rubrics will not please everyone—least of all those who appreciate the formal style of the other. But it is meant for younger children, and those who are opposed must ask whether their opposition is on principle or mere prejudice. There certainly is a danger in the method of worship becoming a Scripture lesson with interludes, and the authors in their Preface occasionally lay themselves open to misunderstanding in what they have to say about untheological worship and the place of the Bible in worship.

John Gray

The Abingdon Press has published a new series of 'Know Your Faith' books ($1.25 net. each) in which prominent Christian teachers present the main articles of the Creed in a simple and avowedly 'inspirational' manner. *I Believe in Immortality*, by the Rev. Dr. J. S. Bonnell, is a series of studies on aspects of the Biblical teaching, with many illustrations of unequal value and reminiscent of

the best kind of popular preaching. *I Believe in Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Dr. W. R. Bowie, summarizes the New Testament witness, in terms of his own spiritual pilgrimage, to give simple and moving expression of the way and meaning of belief.

Fuller and more solid Christological teaching is found in the Rev. Eric G. Frost's *This Jesus* (Epworth Press ; 10s. 6d. net). Mr. Frost has the gift of understanding the questions that many are asking to-day and of answering them, with honesty and clarity, on the firm basis of the Scriptures and the experience of the Church. He helps to give clearer understanding of the significance of Jesus Christ by adding a number of relevant questions of his own.

Prayers out of Church, by the Rev. P. J. Fisher (Epworth Press ; 7s. 6d. net) is a collection of short prayers, arising out of ordinary, everyday occasions, and written in ordinary non-liturgical language. It has nine sections—God and I, In the Home, In the Workaday World, Life is Meeting, Boons and Blessings, Problems and Predicaments, High Days and Holy Days, The Wider Family, Days of Restriction.

There are, for instance, prayers arising from the thoughts which come when a man has selfishly refused a subscription to a charity, and is suddenly reminded how much he owes ; which come when a man suddenly sees in the face of his child in a fit of temper all the faults of which he himself is ashamed ; which emerge out of the reflections which come to a man when he is caught in a traffic block.

The accent of this book is reality and sincerity. This is prayer vitally, personally, even disturbingly alive. This is not a book of prayers for public worship, but it will be invaluable as a book of private devotion.

' A Religious of C.S.M.V. ' has already a number of books to her credit, and those who know her combination of popular writing with wide Biblical and theological knowledge will welcome *These Last Days* (Faith Press ; 9s. 6d. net). It is an ambitious book, as may be judged from the sub-title, ' Time Seen Through Christian Eyes ' ; but the writer carries her scheme through successfully. First comes a survey of God's action in human history before the Messianic age, then consideration of that age, and, finally, an examination of New Testament teaching about the four things which the Creed regards as the Final Consummation—the Second Coming, the Resurrection of the Body, the Last Judgment, and the Life of the World to Come. The conclusion is that, since the last age that was ' now ' for the writers of the New Testament is also ' now ' for us, we must learn how to fulfil our Lord's command to watch for His return.

In *Principles and Practice of Preaching* (Independent Press ; 17s. 6d. net) Professor Ilion T. Jones ranges over a wide field, and refers to so many other writers and gives so many quotations from them, that one might fancy that his aim was to make any further book on preaching by any preacher or Professor of Homiletics unnecessary. Much of what he says is very good, but has been said before. Not a few of his many quotations have little worth quoting in them. A few things are suitable for American preachers, but scarcely apply in Britain. He gives a long bibliography of books on preaching, which suggests that the budding preacher has no lack of guidance, but that it would take him years of reading about how other men have preached before he ventured into the pulpit himself.

Prebendary A. F. Judd, D.D., has edited three hitherto unpublished lectures on Christian Mysticism delivered by the late Dean Inge of St. Paul's at Kensington Town Hall in 1912, and they are issued as *The Awakening of the Soul* (Mowbray ; 4s. net). Mysticism to Inge meant simply firsthand religion, ' immediate contact with the spiritual realities that encompass us.' The titles of his lectures are respectively The Mystic as Thinker, as Moralist, and as Worshipper. We agree with the editor that this makes an excellent book for Lenten reading, and also that it provides an introduction to the subject for those who may find Inge's standard work on Christian Mysticism rather formidable.

King of Kings, by Mr. Malcolm Saville (Nelson ; 21s. net) is an attempt to re-tell the story of Jesus in free-running narrative interspersed with quotations from the A.V. Material from all four Gospels is used, the preference being given, wherever possible, to St. John. The task is achieved with greater competence than would be possible for those more sensitive to critical problems. There are some excellent modern photographs and two coloured plates from Titian and Vermeer.

The Oxford University Press has made available a scholarly volume of historical research recently published by the Princeton University Press—*Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England 1089–1135*, by Mr. Norman F. Cantor of the Department of History at Princeton (48s. net). The theme of the book is the impact of the Gregorian reform movement in the Western Church

upon England from the death of Archbishop Lanfranc to the death of Henry I. The Gregorian ideal of the freedom of the Church was never realized in England, and the crucial phase of the struggle was not the dramatic contest between Henry II and Thomas Becket but the failure of Pope Paschal and Archbishop Anselm to overthrow the Church-State system of William I and Lanfranc. The period under discussion was thus decisive for the future history of the Church in England. Henceforward royal authority over the English Church was only limited by papal jurisdiction in certain spheres. This is argued with great force on the basis of primary sources, both manuscript and printed. This admirable volume is fully documented and indexed.

We welcome a new title in the 'Studies in Ministry and Worship' series issued by the S.C.M. Press—*What is Christian Giving?* The price is 7s. 6d. net, and the author is the Rev. Brian Rice who draws largely on his experience of a visit to America in answering the question. He is convinced that people do not give as they are able but as they understand. They must therefore be trained to give, and Mr. Rice advocates Modern Tithing. That may take different forms. At one place in America he found each Christian person or family being asked to give, after deduction of income tax, five per cent for the Lord through the Church as an act of self-giving in obedience to the First and Great Commandment and five per cent to charity for the needs of others in obedience to the Second and Great Commandment. A church in Birmingham asks its members to calculate their net income after meeting essential commitments of modern living, such as income tax, rates, rent, insurances and superannuation, and from it to give a tenth for general benevolence, each deciding for himself how much of the tenth will go to the church and how much to charity and good works. Percentages apart, Mr. Rice regards all as tithers if their giving to God is a definite, truly grateful share which they have placed at the top of their budgets, so that God comes first. Such giving should be taught not because it is successful, but because it is right and a means of grace that leads the giver closer to God.

The contemporary revival of interest in the work and thought of F. D. Maurice has created a demand for what most men regard as his greatest book. Dr. A. R. Vidler, who has done so much to create the revival, has done good service in preparing a new edition (based on the second edition of 1842) of *The Kingdom of Christ* (S.C.M.; 2 vols. 15s. net each). The briefness of this note (given solely for information) must not be allowed to detract from the importance of what is an outstanding work of English divinity. In the course of a short but adequate introduction Dr. Vidler writes: 'Not least in the twentieth century, when "the principles, ordinances, and constitution of the Catholic Church" are being reconsidered on an ecumenical scale as they never have been before, does *The Kingdom of Christ* deserve to be both widely and closely studied'.

The Growth of the Church in Buganda, by the Rev. John V. Taylor (S.C.M.; 25s. net), is the first of a new series of 'Studies in the Life and Growth of the Younger Churches' sponsored by the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. Nothing could be more unlike the old-fashioned 'missionary' volume. This is a scholarly, enlightened, and always sympathetic study of the history and structure of the Buganda Church. It is well subtitled 'An Attempt at Understanding'. Beginning with the story of Christian 'cells' at the court of the autocratic Mutesa, the author tells of the second generation days when self-identifying love was weaker and leading-strings were stronger. He has wise things to say of the dangers of centralization in missionary affairs, and the reluctance to trust the laity with spiritual responsibility. 'The more faithful and gifted an African clergyman, the more likely he was to be withdrawn from a pastoral charge into a higher category, in which his time would be absorbed in administration and committee work. The keener the young catechist, the quicker he would be taken away from his flock and given a wider area to supervise. And so that flock, in its unimportant village church, was left with the poorest quality of shepherd, while the men at the top were more and more out of touch with its needs.'

There are memorable chapters here about men and women and children in their daily doings by a man who lived among them in a mud hut and sought to share the thoughts and concerns of the village people. The writer's aim was 'a peasant's eye view of the Church'. Significantly, the book concludes with pastoral and theological questions, and a plea that the inter-relationship between the several parts and the whole should consist primarily of prayer and assistance rather than of control. 'This demands that if the church in a particular pastorate is weak or defeated, the concern of the rest of the diocese should be expressed by coming to the rescue with financial support or the supply of men, and the organization of the church must be such as to make this mutual responsibility possible.' The Church far beyond the bounds of Africa could learn wisdom from this book.

Apostolic Succession in the Conversations between Anglicans and Presbyterians

By the Reverend A. D. Lewis, M.A., Thropton, Morpeth [1]

Recent conversations between the churches in Britain have made it clear that the *sine qua non* of further progress towards re-union is mutual recognition. This point was made long ago by Principal Rainy: 'The first step to approximation, not to speak of union, is recognition.' [2] More recently Bishop Newbigin has declared: 'Frank recognition of other churches, without hedging or reservation, is the only possible basis on which any real work for re-union can be built.' [3]

The 1958 Lambeth Report includes one statement which suggests that the churches in this country are moving towards such mutual recognition. 'Anglican churches ought to be ready to recognise the Presbyterian churches as true parts of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church, and the spiritual effectiveness of their ministerial orders ought not to be implicitly or explicitly questioned.' [4]

Unfortunately this apparently frank declaration is followed by one explaining why such recognition cannot yet lead to intercommunion. 'Anglicans conscientiously hold that the celebrant of the Eucharist should have been ordained by a bishop standing in the historic succession, and generally believe it to be their duty to bear witness to this principle by receiving Holy Communion only from those who have thus been ordained.' [5]

In view of this qualification it is not easy to see what the recognition accorded to Presbyterians really amounts to; nor what *spiritual effectiveness of ministerial orders* really means; nor whether *only from those who have thus been ordained* means that non-episcopally ordained ministers have not been ordained at all, or that they have been ordained but not in this way; nor, finally, whether the 'conviction' that the celebrant of the Eucharist must have Episcopal ordination is simply one 'view' held by some Anglicans but not by all, and so represents merely a practical obstacle in the way of recognition, or is rather the Anglican 'principle' which cannot be surrendered under any circumstances. What is quite plain is that in practice Anglicans do not yet recognize non-episcopal churches in such a way as to provide the necessary basis for union.

The same is, however, true on the other side as well. Non-episcopal churches have to ask in what sense, to what extent, and with what qualifications do they themselves recognize the Anglican churches, sacrament and ministry? In practice this recognition has not led them to discontinue their separate existence, nor even to unite with one another. Generally speaking, they are ready, when invited, to receive the Lord's Supper from Anglican ministers, to recognize members of the Anglican churches without re-confirmation, and her ministers without re-ordination.

Yet clearly they still believe they are forbidden to identify themselves with the Anglican Church, because important matters are still at issue between them which would not be resolved by such a step.

Behind the problem of mutual recognition there lies on both sides the fundamental question of the precise criterion by which other churches are to be recognized as belonging to the one Church, or recognition refused them. The criterion applied by all churches is that of apostolicity. Recognition can only be given to a church which is truly apostolic. By the word 'apostolic' all churches mean something more than simply 'sent' from God, or from Christ. They mean by it sent from God, from Christ, *in a way which has been given once and for all a unique and exemplary form in history*. The apostolicity of the Church has been given its distinctive character for all succeeding ages by the special calling, training and sending of the first apostles. To call the Church apostolic is to link the company of Christians on earth to-day, in this place and that, in some way with the primary apostles. Difficulties arise once we seek to define the nature of that link.

It is here that the ambiguous concept of 'apostolic succession' comes in. To Anglicans, a continuous, historic, lawful succession linking the ministers of the Church to-day and through these ministers, the Church herself, with the first apostles and their successors, is held in practice to be essential for a valid and fully effective ministry. To Presbyterians and other non-episcopalians, however, the validity and effectiveness of a ministry and Church tends to diminish the more the emphasis is placed on such a succession. To seek the spiritual authority of the ministry and Church in this kind of succession actually impairs that authority since it appears to presuppose a misunderstanding of the nature of the Church and

[1] Mr. Lewis is a Presbyterian.—*Editor.*

[2] P. C. Simpson, *Life of Principal Rainy*, ii. 179.

[3] See *Theology*, June, 1958.

[4] *Lambeth Report* [1958], 2. 43. [5] *Ib.*, 2. 44.

her apostolicity, which in turn rests on a misunderstanding of the gospel itself. Of course such a misunderstanding does not necessarily destroy the Church's reality any more than the linear succession secures it. But it does threaten the life of the Church as a life of faith, it does tend to obscure the gospel of God's sovereign grace, and to substitute for the Church's sole security, or at least to place beside it, a false security which has no legitimate place in the household of faith. It is perhaps not the 'succession' in itself which is the stumbling block so much as the importance attached to it and the consequent dangers of a serious distortion of the gospel.

Against this view of 'apostolic succession', which changes apostolicity into a material criterion, the application of which requires 'neither the Holy Spirit nor faith but only a particular idea of law', the Reformed non-episcopal churches regard apostolicity as a 'concrete spiritual criterion' which does call for the Holy Spirit and faith in understanding and applying it. The apostolicity of the Church is not and cannot be a secured possession of the Church but is rather a gift which has to be received and a task which has to be taken up by the living Church in faith. A church is apostolic, is the Church, only as she receives and seeks to order her life in accordance with the teaching and testimony of the apostles. 'Apostolic means in the discipleship, in the school, under the normative authority, instruction and guidance of the apostles because listening to them and receiving their message.'[1] Apostolic succession means apostolic discipleship. It means following the apostles as they followed Christ, following them not merely in temporal or legal sequence but in practice and life, in calling, training and mission. In the nature of the case this spiritual succession or discipleship cannot be identified with or guaranteed by any continuous transmission of ministerial authority from the apostles, regarded as figures belonging to a remote past.

Moreover it is the Church which is apostolic, not primarily her ministers, and her members only, as it were, derivatively from them. Incorporation into Christ 'the apostle and High Priest of our confession' brings with it for all members a share in the apostolate of the whole Church as the servant of Christ. The apostolic body of Christ has no non-apostolic parts. Diversities of ministries are simply distinctions within the one apostolic ministry of the whole body. The special ministry of word and sacrament depends, as all ministry in the Church depends, on the continuous ministry of the first apostles who remain the permanent and living foundation of the apostolic Church and so of her apostolicity. 'Apostolic means on the one hand that the Church exists by the continuing word and work of the apostles, and on the other hand, it means that she exists as she herself does what the apostles did, and, in virtue of the nature of their word and work, continue to do. To live in the Church means to live with the apostles in this twofold sense.'[2] The special function of the apostles within the infant Church provides the justification for and the prototype of the continuous ministry of word and sacrament. But the ministry is apostolic only as it depends upon, derives from, and submits to the Word of God attested in Holy Scripture in the human words and acts of the primary apostles.

It is itself the continually renewed gift of the living Christ to the pilgrim Church on earth. It is judged (as the apostles knew themselves to be judged) by the gospel.[3] If it seeks its security in anything other than the gospel it stands condemned. The under-shepherds can prove faithless in spite of and even because of an impeccable historic succession from the apostles. But the 'Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls' is royally free and able to raise up 'even of these stones' a more faithful, more apostolic ministry, to feed His flock, an apostolate having its commission 'not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father.'[4] Because her Head remains faithful the Church will never lack such ministers, who, apostolic in this fundamental sense, have had predecessors in the same office right back to the first apostles though not necessarily nor probably a continuous unbroken line of tactual succession via ordination.

'Jesus Christ uses the Ministry as an organic link between the Church in all ages and Himself.'[5] It is difficult to find the basis for such a statement or even its precise meaning, still less how it follows from it 'that continuity of ministerial succession is one element in the unity of the Church through time.'

Certainly the ministry is a human link, possibly an organic link, between the Church of to-day and the Church of the day before yesterday. Even so, only one of many such human and organic links with just as important a place in the experience of every church. But in what sense 'an organic link between the Church in all ages and *Christ*'? Does not this isolate the ministry from the Church and make the Church dependent on the ministry? It also suggests a kind of chain through time linking the Church of to-day with the Jesus of long ago. If the latter conception or some variant of it is intended we are bound to say that such a

[1] Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, IV. i. §62, p. 798 (Eng. tr., p. 714).

[2] Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II. ii. §35, p. 477.

[3] Gal $1^{8f.}$ [4] Gal 1^{1}.

[5] Report on *Relations between Anglican and Presbyterian Churches* [1957], 10 (English edition).

link (and much more !) is already given us far more certainly and authentically in Holy Scripture, the apostolic tradition by which in every age the Church is gathered around Christ and His apostles. This bond of union is not merely a human link along the line of history ; it is also the living medium of the ascended Christ's continuous conversation with His people to-day. Here is no dead letter but the living voice of the apostles, and, mediated through their indispensable testimony, the living voice of the Church's Head. Here if anywhere is the source and criterion of the Church's apostolicity. So, too, of her unity, holiness and catholicity. All ministry in the Church, to the Church, and by the Church to the world, is derived and renewed from this organic link between Jesus Christ and the Church in every age.

The orderly transmission of ministerial responsibility and authority from one generation to the next attests the transmission of the apostolic faith and sound doctrine. The word ' guarantees ' is rightly avoided here, but does not even the word attests go too far ? It is the apostolic faith which attests the ministry, indeed guarantees its authority for faith, shows whether or not it is a truly apostolic ministry. We can be far more certain of the gospel than of the orderly transmission of ministerial authority over the nineteen centuries of the Church's history. In any case orderly transmission of authority is not necessarily accompanied by sound doctrine. It is notorious that the very opposite has sometimes been the case. In itself such orderly transmission is a normal and desirable practice but it has never been more of a decisive safeguard against error, distortion or apostasy than any other element in the Church's institutional life. Impeccable ecclesiastical pedigrees may merely attest in melancholy fashion that a church has retained the ancient forms and earthen vessels but lost the priceless treasure of the apostolic gospel. Compared with the testimony of the apostles by which the Church was established and which has accompanied her throughout her journey, first in spoken and then in written form, orderly ministerial succession and authority is far too fragile a link to bear such great weight.

If the present discussions are not to end in an impasse the criterion of apostolicity must be examined afresh by the churches concerned. The first statement, quoted from the Lambeth Report in our second paragraph, bears all the marks of sound judgment ! [1]

Evidently the right criterion has been applied here ! But a different criterion of apostolicity underlies the ban on inter-communion. The application of the first criterion leads to the frank recognition by Anglicans of the Presbyterian churches. The application of the second leads them in practice to refuse recognition. Certainly the two criteria cannot be assigned equal validity. Nor can there be any doubt which must be given priority. But if the first conflicts with the second can the latter have any validity at all ? The unity of the Church militant here on earth is at its best a unity of the Spirit and of faith. We *believe* one holy and apostolic Church. By *faith* we confess one holy catholic apostolic Church. Since faith is ' the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for ' we cannot exempt our faith in the apostolicity of the Church from this qualification.[2]

Once we seek the reality of the Church in a concrete material historical legal institutional element open to inspection by all and sundry apart from the Holy Spirit and faith, we are quitting the area of the real Church, which can only be recognized in the Spirit and by faith.

The real scandal of disunity lies not so much in the fact that the *world* does not see the Church as one family in each place, but that Christians do not do so. Our divisions hinder evangelism not because they offend the world but because they offend Christ and put Him to shame. We must be wary of the suggestion that the disunity of the Church is the main obstacle preventing the world from believing the gospel. The world can never excuse its disbelief by saying : ' When we see the gospel reconciling Christians we shall believe it to be true.' The world cannot dictate even to a weak and divided Church the terms on which it will listen to her message. Even in her frailty and sin the Church claims a hearing not for herself but for her Lord. Certainly in the world's rebuke the Church will hear an echo of her Lord's summons ' Have salt in yourselves and be at peace with one another.' It is reasonable to suppose that when Christians are able to recognize one another and express this recognition by a real communion in holy things, the world may be more disposed to sit up and take notice. But the Church is not a substitute for the gospel but its servant. Her ministry of reconciliation, *i.e.*, her apostolicity, will never become a mastery of reconciliation but will always remain a gift and task. Even a re-formed and re-ordered Church will still be justified by her faith and not by her works. Knowing this, her works including her common life will be more in accord with her faith. But even the most perfectly and visibly reconciled Church will not be identical with the gospel. Even the world is summoned to *faith* in the one Church.

[1] At least to a Presbyterian eye—not so to all Anglicans (see E. L. Mascall's pamphlet, *Lambeth 1958 and Christian Unity, passim*).

[2] Cf. Barth's discussion of the visibility of the Church in *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, IV. i. §62, and IV. ii. §67.

Religious Education

Catechisms To-day

By the Reverend John Gray, B.D., Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh

The recent attempt by the Youth Committee of the Church of Scotland to produce a new catechism for the better instruction of its young people in the faith is a sign of the times. A revived interest in theology among ministers has gone hand-in-hand with a growing awareness of the ignorance of the truths of the faith even within the membership of the Church itself. In such a situation the classic Catechisms with their emphasis on doctrine and their didactic purpose assume fresh importance. The words of Calvin to the Protector Somerset in 1548 would find ready agreement in many quarters—'The Church of God will never preserve itself without a catechism, for it is like the seed to keep the good grain from dying out, and causing it to multiply from age to age . . . make provision for the children to be instructed in a good catechism, which may show them briefly, and in language level to their tender age, wherein true Christianity consists'. Yet almost all the important words in this statement cry out for definition and it is the purpose of this article to consider what problems await those who would prepare such teaching manuals for the Church to-day.

What is a catechism? Originally the word referred to a method rather than a manual—oral instruction based on what has been called the 'Agreed Syllabus' of the early centuries of the Church, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, with teaching on the Sacraments. Nor is the question and answer manual the original or the only form, when oral instruction became written instruction. It might properly be asked whether the circumstances of to-day might not call for a rhymed instruction like the fourteenth century Archbishop Thoresby's *Lay Folks' Catechism*, or the poetical statements of faith attributed to the Wedderburns. Something similar to these have been employed in the younger churches and with apparent good success. If the question and answer form be adopted, is it to follow the Westminster pattern, which sometimes sounds like an oral examination, or Calvin, whose Catechism keeps the semblances of a conversation between the instructor and the instructed? It must also be decided whether the expression of the doctrine is to mean more than the pupil in shaping question and answer. The Anglican with its opening 'What is your name' and the Heidelberg with its repeated use of 'thou' in the questions and 'I' in the answers are attempts to blend objective and subjective together in a way which others seldom or never do. How far must the catechism strive to be ageless and how far contemporary? A seventeenth century Catechism can ask 'Quher was the true kirke before Martin Luther did arise' and answer 'It was groaning under the youk of Poperie . . . as they do yet in Spain, in Italie, and in Roome'. A modern Spanish Catechism apparently contains so specific a question as 'Is it a grave sin to subscribe to a liberal newspaper?' Nor should it be forgotten that a Catechism can be a book with pictures. Cranmer's *Catechism* had twenty-five wood engravings to help its text.

What is the content of the Catechism to be? There might still be a case for building upon the ancient foundations, especially in those churches where the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments are regarded as essential to what the church member should know. Whether these formulæ be made the basis of instruction or not, belief, prayer, and obedience should be taught by the Catechism. But problems of balance and order remain to be solved. Luther chose to begin with the Commandments, regarding the law as the schoolmaster to lead to Christ, while the Heidelberg has them in its closing section as part of that thankful response awakened in man by God's redemption. The main concern should be to secure that Christ and His saving work are made of most importance. In some of the traditional Catechisms the very space demanded by and given to the exposition of the Commandments leaves, however unconsciously, an impression more of the law than of the gospel. The *Longer Catechism* is a grave offender in this respect while Craig's Shorter omits the Commandments altogether, and the plan of his Larger clearly keeps them to a subordinate place. One thing is sure, that it must be a major theological task for any church to draw up a catechism, and not a mere exercise for experts in religious pedagogy.

Is a church to have one Catechism or several? 'The Assembly of Divines, after they had made some progress in the catechism . . . found it

very difficult to satisfy themselves or the world with one form of Catechism or to dress up milk and meat in one dish.' Catechisms have sometimes gone against the Scriptural injunctions of milk for babes and meat for men, and it is difficult to get one suitable for all. Sometimes this is almost done, as in the case of Luther, with his plain and homely speech, and of Samuel Rutherford, whose power of vivid figures appears to provide something for all ages. But this is a rare gift—seldom possessed by committees. The alternative is to provide a series of graded catechisms. The Westminster Assembly made two, but the Larger never seems to have had either the use or the fame of the Shorter. Both were approved in Scotland as 'a directory for catechizing', and this might be the safest rule for such a time as this, that a church should set out its instruction in as plain language as it can, and leave it to the good sense of those who will use this Catechism to mediate it to the different situations. Historically this seems to have been a regular practice, and many ministers made their own Catechisms from and leading up to the church's catechism.

How is the Catechism to be used? Clear thinking about Catechism instruction is largely dictated by two false views of history. The first is that the knowledge of the Catechisms *alone* produced that informed piety, which, in Scotland at least, was common to 'the peer and the ploughboy'. The second is that the memorizing of the Catechism and the punitive discipline, which so often accompanied this, are necessarily inseparable. Two less sweeping claims can be made. First, the Catechisms must have been a powerful aid in giving preacher and people a like understanding of the great truths of the faith, and a most excellent glossary for the reading of the Bible itself. Secondly, any form of religious teaching can be spoiled, if the method persistently contradicts or distorts the matter, so that the method remains while the matter is lost. But abuse can never forbid use. The heart of the matter to-day is to consider whether memorizing is necessary, and what is to be the relation between memorizing and understanding, whether these are to be simultaneous or consecutive processes. The whole intention of a Catechism, even in this day of printing and cheap books, seems to demand memorizing. It should be portable—in the head and not in a book, if it is to be of real use. But how is memorizing to be secured in the modern Sunday School or Bible Class? If there is but one Catechism, the younger may find it easy to memorize and hard to understand, and the older easier to understand but harder to memorize. It may be that some incentive or some barrier, like admission to baptism in the Early Church, may need to be employed to produce the situation where there is the desire to learn. Certainly, instruction by Catechism offers a challenge for new and good methods to be devised. The Protestant Church has yet produced nothing as thorough as *The Art of Catechising*, by Bishop Dupanloup, nor our modern attempts such clear rules for a catechism's use as Luther has in the Preface to his *Small Catechism*.

Who is to catechize? George Herbert in *The Parson Catechising* has given a remarkable picture of what catechizing at its best can be, where the knowledge of the instructor and the matter of the catechism and the experience of the catechized are all skilfully woven together in one teaching action. This is skilled work, and the quality of the instruction will always depend upon the knowledge and the attitude of the instructor. Right use of catechisms is likely to mean not less but more Biblical and theological training for those who are to use them. The instructor must be able to put supplementary questions, to illustrate and to drive home the answers, and to elicit the catechized's own questions. The instrument cannot mechanize the instruction, making it infallible, however or by whomsoever it may be done.

What is to be the relation of the catechism to the Bible? There is of course the obvious and necessary relation, that the teaching of the catechism will be based on the Bible, and the catechism should be, in Luther's phrase, 'a short summary and epitome of the whole Scriptures'. Yet care must also be taken to see that the graded Scripture lessons, so much used in modern religious education, are not displaced by the catechism but linked with it. After all the most important thing is to lead children to the Bible that God may speak to them out of His Word—not to have them rest on standards subordinate to subordinate standards. Here lies the limitations of catechisms—well expressed in a question and answer from one of them. 'For quhat cause should wee believe the Word to be the Word of God.' 'Not because man or the kirk sayeth it, but because God quho can not lie sayeth it.' The catechism is not the truth. Only Christ is the truth.

Milestones in Books. IX.

By the Right Reverend Bishop F. A. Cockin, D.D.[1]

The invitation to contribute to this series was couched in somewhat flattering terms. The Editor said that he was 'proposing to ask a few scholars to name and appreciate the books which have exercised a formative influence upon their thinking'. He didn't mention the names of the others whom he was asking to contribute. If he had I might well have refused out of hand. For by no stretch of imagination can I claim the title of 'scholar' in any proper sense of that word. It has indeed been my singular good fortune that a large part of my working life has been spent in fairly close touch with young people in schools and universities. That has perhaps helped to keep one's mind in some measure alert to the questions which are exercising theirs. If these are not strictly speaking questions of 'scholarship', they are certainly such as stimulate one to try to *interpret* the conclusions which scholars are reaching in terms which make them intelligible and relevant to minds not necessarily familiar with academic theological studies.

I have attempted to group the books which I have chosen under three main headings. There are those which can—using the word somewhat broadly—be described as 'theological'. There are others which represent the engagement of the Christian spirit with the living situation in which faith has to be hammered out on the anvil of experience—sometimes hard and costly experience. And there is a third group which deals more directly with questions affecting the life of the Church, particularly with reference to what I regard as its primary and overriding obligation, the recovery of unity.

Under the first heading I would select two—and first unquestionably the late Professor D. M. Baillie's *God was in Christ*. Here indeed is a work of 'Systematic Theology', which calls for a measure of technical training in the reader for its proper understanding and appreciation. But from start to finish it gives the impression of being (as indeed it was) the work of a mind sensitively aware of the acutely difficult questions of faith which the doctrine of the Incarnation presents to contemporary minds, and courageously prepared to question, and if need be to dispense with, traditional forms of interpretation which no longer satisfy. The determined re-assessment of the values of 'the Jesus of History' school of thought in face of the violent reaction against it in much Continental and even British theology; the patient disentangling of what he calls 'the central paradox' of the doctrine of Incarnation; and the essential emphasis on the empirical basis of the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity in the experience of the Church, these are only a few illustrations of what one may perhaps call 'realistic' theology. The whole book is a stimulus at once to a more thorough re-examination of the classical definitions, and to a more strenuous wrestling with the problems which those definitions unquestionably raise (as in the section on 'The Legacy of the Incarnation') for minds trained in very different presuppositions.

It is perhaps a certain affinity in this last respect which suggests as the second choice Dr. J. H. Oldham's *Life is Commitment*. The distinctive character of this book is best conveyed by a quotation from the Introduction. 'When an unexpected invitation reached me to deliver a course of lectures on "The Meaning of Christianity To-day", my first inclination was to refuse. . . . On further reflection however . . . I found myself drawn towards the invitation for two reasons. In

[1] Born on 30th July, 1888, Frederic Arthur Cockin was educated at Marlborough and University College, Oxford, to which he went on an open scholarship—in 1950 his College made him an Hon. Fellow. From 1917–1929 he was Assistant Secretary of the Student Christian Movement. These twelve years, Bishop Cockin says, 'gave me an incurably oecumenical outlook; they introduced me to student life in many countries, India, Canada and many parts of Europe: and they set my mind working on the problem of communicating the Christian faith to men and women trained, and working in *lay* settings'. After the Student Christian Movement period he enlarged the range of his experience by work in a South London Diocese as Canon Missioner, at the University Church at Oxford, at St. Paul's in war-time, in the Training Colleges, and finally in the Diocese of Bristol. Dr. Cockin is well known as an author. *The Holy Spirit and the Church* [1939] and *Does Christianity Make Sense?* [1948] have reached thousands of readers. But it is as a masterly Broadcaster that he is best known not only in the British Isles but far beyond. Of his Broadcasting he says, 'For many years now I have enjoyed the openings which Broadcasting gives for making contact with a quite unpredictable variety of minds, which provides an unrivalled means of testing the effectiveness of one's presentation of the Christian faith.'—*Editor.*

the first place I welcomed the challenge to set down in black and white what I really believe'. [How many of us, when past eighty, could say that?] 'I have on a good many occasions given addresses to student and other audiences. Was I sure that what I said in these rested on solid foundations? Had I a position which I could honestly defend against the attacks to which Christian faith is exposed to-day from many different quarters? I wanted to know where I really stood. . . . Secondly, it has for a long time appeared to me that a great deal of current Christian preaching and teaching makes little contact with the thought and experience of ordinary men and women. . . . It takes too much for granted.'

In an honest attempt to meet these two self-imposed demands lies the outstanding value of the book. To take the second first. Dr. Oldham is nothing if not thorough. The bibliography itself is sufficient evidence of the lengths to which he has gone to acquaint himself with the views and the difficulties of those who for a variety of reasons find it impossible to accept the Christian position. Indeed I know few better statements, in brief compass, of 'the present human situation' than that contained in the opening chapter 'Fact and Decision'. And those who are privileged to count Dr. Oldham as a friend know well that the impressive display of 'book-learning' is no mere façade. It represents a life-time spent in the persistent effort to establish mutual understanding and trust with men and women working in a wide range of fields—scientific, philosophical, literary, political and economic.

It is this which gives to the examination and presentation of his own faith its peculiar quality. All the time, one feels, he is testing the declarations of faith which at the end of his life he is able to make against the needs and perplexities of those with whom he has been in contact. There is no shadow of doubt where he himself stands. 'I am not attempting there', he writes in the concluding section, 'to discuss the difficulties attaching to Christian belief. I know that they are real and manifold. I am only pointing out that those who have encountered Christ and made a whole-hearted response to that encounter have found an answer to the problem of man and truth.' 'But', he continues, 'it is inherent in that answer, as I understand it, that it must vindicate itself in open and free discussion, that all formulations of it made by fallible man are necessarily defective and incomplete, and are in constant need of correction and enrichment by the contribution of the experience of all sincere seekers after truth.'

That is the true Catholicity.

The second group of books, which have exercised a profound influence on one's understanding of the Christian faith as *witness*, have their origin in war-time Europe. The background of one is the Communist régime, Helmut Gollwitzer's *Unwilling Journey*. The background of the other is Nazi Germany, Bishop Lilje's *The Valley of the Shadow*.

As one would expect they both bear a certain common stamp, that unmistakable quality which springs from the experience of facing a situation in which 'another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not'. They are too well known to need much description. But one cannot forbear to give an illustration or two of the temper which in different ways they share.

Here is one from *Unwilling Journey*. The writer and his companions in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp had for months been expecting to be repatriated. They were told one day at short notice to get ready for a journey, and were driven from their camp to a waiting train, full of hope. When they reached it, it was a G.P.U. train heading East for Siberia. 'Nobody dared think any more now about home and repatriation. Any one travelling east in 1949 under such conditions as ours had to put away such thoughts for many years, perhaps for ever. Then, with this prospect in view, I read the words of the Apostle, who had nothing but the coming of Christ to look forward to, and yet whose heart had not been hardened but was so full of joy that he was able to pass on this joy and courageousness to his friends. . . . Then my thoughts turned to the future. The punishment camp had lost its terrors. But who was waiting for me there? To whom was I being sent? Who needed me there? Whom would I have need of? What community, known only to God, would welcome me? Now and again I recited a poem to a companion who had an ear for poetry: and the last lines of Carossa's *Fountain* came to me like a comforting promise

Many a man is on his way to Thee'.

If 'life is commitment', here surely is a man who has explored and found its uttermost secret.

The background of Bishop Lilje's book is solitary confinement in a Nazi prison, with the possibility of execution at any moment. This is, of course, an experience shared by thousands, and there are many moving records of the way in which they have faced it. But there is something about the way in which the Bishop faced the ordeal which reveals a characteristic combination of common sense and saintliness familiar to those who know him. 'I tried to keep my body in good condition by gymnastic exercises and a morning run round my cell. . . . I tried to discipline my mind very strictly in order to resist the temptation to let it wander chaotically hither and thither. I made a strictly ordered rule of life for each day, which

included regular meditation and prolonged periods of prayer, followed by periods of thought on theological and ecclesiastical questions. Since I had no paper to write down the results of my thinking I not only repeated them over and over again, in order to impress them on my memory, but I also frequently translated my thoughts into English or French, or even Latin. Under the circumstances I could only repeat the passages, and verses of hymns, which I retained in my memory. How grateful I am to all my teachers who had made me learn by heart hymns and poems, Greek Lyrics, Latin Odes or Hebrew Psalms ! '

There is Teutonic thoroughness and matter-of-factness. But there is something else as well. In the Epilogue, in which, from the blessed world of freedom, he looks back on the months of imprisonment, he writes, ' A man who has been through this experience knows that henceforth he will never be afraid of any power on earth : for once in his life he faced life as a whole, and came to terms with it. Once in his life he really and completely confessed his sins, and in the Lord's Supper received the seal of mercy which covers all that is unfinished, imperfect and wrong with the blessed gift of forgiveness.'

That is of no nationality, or age, or confession. That is authentic Christian discipleship. As one reflects on the totality of experience which these two instances illustrate, and compares it with the safe, comfortable, unheroic mediocrity of much of the life of the Church in our own country, one asks with some searching of heart, what is needed to kindle and toughen the spirit of our religion.

In some measure, may be, the answer is given in the third type of book on which I would briefly comment. We cannot *ask* for persecution. We cannot *lay on* conditions of hardship and stern testing. But we can, if we will, recognize and accept the demands of strenuous and costly spiritual effort which are already provided for us, if we had eyes to see them. And among these some of us would give first place to the obligation which rests upon all our churches alike to seek in penitence and travail of mind and spirit for the recovery of unity. How costly that effort will have to be, any who have in any way shared in oecumenical discussion know well. There are no short cuts here : there is no less exacting way than the exposure of ourselves and our churches to rigorous mutual examination, and in the light of that to an equally rigorous self-examination.

For some of us the natural—the inevitable—starting-point for the consideration of what is involved in obedience to this demand of our Lord is the witness of the Church of South India. And I therefore chose, from among many books which have influenced my thought on the subject, Bishop Lesslie Newbigin's Kerr Lectures, *The Household of God*. I find it difficult to believe that any one, who had not been through the long and exacting experience of wrestling in prayer and thought with the issues which divide churches, and as a result had reached the point at which those differences are resolved in Christ, could write with the humility *and* pungency which characterize the analysis here given of our historic Church traditions. Catholic and Protestant alike are exposed to a searching review. And, which is even more salutary, *both* are examined in the light of another strand in Christian tradition, that of the churches which stress the presence of the Spirit as a mark of the Church at least equally valid with the preservation of Order and the preaching of the Word.

But even more vital is the insistence that only a *missionary* Church, a Church which recognizes that it lives in mission or not at all, can be brought to face the real issue of unity. ' The reality of what Christians have in common is seen to be of an importance far outweighing everything which divides Christians from one another. That profoundly important fact, which most Christians accept in theory, in practice drops out of sight, when the missionary task drops out of sight.' There is the lesson which the founding churches of the West must re-learn from their children. Until we at home are jolted out of our complacent acceptance of a situation which is a clear denial of our Master's will by the acknowledgment that we are not doing, and never can do, the work to which He has called us while we remain divided, the true nature, and the cost, of unity will never be realized and accepted.

In the Study

Virginibus Puerisque

A Great Friend

By Rita Snowden, Auckland, New Zealand

A great friend of mine has just celebrated his hundredth birthday. He is by far the oldest friend I have ; but for all that he is not the least bowed down with his years, but is as straight and lively as ever. His name is Ben—Big Ben. He is not only a hundred years old, but he is three hundred and twenty feet high. And in calm weather his voice can be heard all over London. And through the wireless it can be heard all round the world.

During the hard days of war millions of people at nine o'clock—when many boys and girls were already tucked up in bed—used to listen for his voice and the words which went with it—issuing in a moment for silence and prayer :

All through this hour,
Lord, be my guide,
And by Thy power,
No foot shall slide.

Big Ben is, of course, a great bell behind a great clock. He lives at Westminster—and he works very hard. He is named after Sir Benjamin Hall, who was the busy Commissioner of Works a hundred years ago, when Big Ben was cast, and set to the task that he has carried on ever since. And it is, of course, a very important task—never an hour passes but his voice is heard. The striking of the quarter-hours he leaves to four small bells.

I have told you that this old friend of mine stands three hundred and twenty feet high—which is about the height of fifty-four men standing on top of each other's heads—a very great height. Another surprising thing about him is that each of his four clock faces is twenty-two and a half feet in diameter—equal to about four men ; his hour hands are nine feet long—equal to a man and a boy ; and his minute hands, of course, longer still, fourteen feet—equal to two tall men and a baby.

The great bell which is actually Big Ben himself weighs thirteen and a half tons. I'm sure you could never reckon that out in terms of the weight of men and boys. Thirteen and a half tons ! That's a great weight !

But the most wonderful thing about my old friend, Big Ben, is, that despite his great age—a hundred years—and his great height, and his great weight ; despite, indeed, the fact that he is a very great fellow in every possible way, he is very careful about details. He is one of the most faithful timekeepers in the world.

During a recent test carried out for a hundred and eighteen days, he was no more than two-tenths of a second out. (It's hard enough for boys and girls to measure one second—but quite impossible to count two-tenths of a second !) That's how faithful Big Ben is about his task.

I wish all my friends were as faithful as that ! Don't you ? I wish I was as faithful as that !

Although Big Ben is such a big and important fellow, he still takes care of little things.

There's something in the New Testament about this. Jesus said that one of the great secrets of a good and happy life (and He wasn't talking of clocks ; He was talking of those who would be His friends—men and women, and boys and girls) is to treasure this special kind of faithfulness. He said ' He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much.'

Llanfairfechan

By Principal J. Ithel Jones, M.A., B.D., The Baptist College, Cardiff

I'm so glad that some of my young people have been for their holiday to my native land. One thing amused me very much. When I asked them where they had been they replied, ' To North Wales '. Then when I pursued the matter and asked where in North Wales, they hesitated. Yes, I know ! They were afraid to say the word. People have the idea that Welsh place-names are unpronounceable.

Let me tell you why English people cannot pronounce Welsh names. It's because they have decided beforehand that they cannot ! Don't believe a word of it ! On a tour of Scotland once we had with us a friend who the previous year had taken a holiday in North Wales. He was recounting his experiences and repeating the names of some of the places which had impressed him and after each name he would ask me, ' Or how do you say it ? ' I would tell him ; then he would repeat it twice or three times with me and now he says them quite well. And he's as English an Englishman as you will find this side of Offa's Dyke.

It's really surprising how many of us fail to do things even before we try. I have a silly idea in my head that the golf club we call a number 2 iron is a difficult club to use. And, of course, I muff nearly every shot with it. One day some one will persuade me that it's not really a difficult club at all. And I have a feeling that when that happens I'll not muff nearly as many shots. It's ' Llanfairfechan ' all over again.

If you read the Gospels carefully you'll find that Jesus was all the time persuading people to do what they couldn't. He told the man with a paralysed arm to stretch it out. That, of course, was quite impossible. But the man did it !

A woman was brought to Him, who had lived a life of sin. He said to her, ' Go and sin no more '. And we have every reason to believe that she went away and lived a life of purity, which would have been accounted impossible by those who knew her.

When the Lord Jesus is willing to give us power, never let us decide that we are not able to do this piece of good or that. In the burial grounds of Wales you will read on many a good woman's tomb-stone, ' She hath done what she could '. But somewhere in America there is a stone which reads, ' She hath done what she couldn't ! '

The Christian Year

FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Right Sequence in Christian Experience

BY THE REVEREND ARTHUR A. COWAN, D.D., EDINBURGH

'And the four and twenty elders . . . worshipped God . . . saying, Amen; Hallelujah.'—Rev 19[4] (R.V.).

This is the true order of progression, the correct religious sequence—from 'Amen' to 'Hallelujah.' 'Amen' means 'So be it!' and comes first as the authentic note of worship. It is accepting what God has proposed for us, saying 'Yes' to His purpose and agreeing to His will. 'So be it!' Our Amen is like signing our name to a document. In her last novel, Rose Macaulay tells of a sensible lady who gave this advice to her niece. 'Don't dramatize, or dream, or escape, make terms with life, and plod on bravely. You won't be carried along by any enchantment or romance, you face reality and do justice to the facts.' To support this, Clement of Alexandria is quoted: 'We may not be taken up and transported to our journey's end, but must travel on foot, traversing the whole distance of the narrow way'. Thus the 'Amen' comes first, 'So be it!', saying 'Yes' to God when He bids us step out on a certain road.

Then the 'Hallelujah' follows, which means 'Praise God'. That comes second in the right sequence of Christian expression. Such is the true order of progression. These men were not sad after signing their name to the document of God's purpose, as if they felt they were in for it now; no, they were glad. Their acceptance of whatever God had in store for them gave them a sense of relief and elation. As Christina Rossetti says 'There was no alas! but allelujah instead'. Once they had committed themselves to God's direction, there was no regret but rejoicing, which broke out into the doxology, 'Praise God!' And the four and twenty elders worshipped God, 'saying, Amen; Hallelujah.'

We must be able to say 'Amen', 'So be it', before we can say 'Hallelujah', 'Praise God!' Whatever duty or sacrifice has been appointed by Providence, whatever task or trouble has been laid upon us as our daily lot, there must be a trustful assent to God's will before there can be any happy confidence or rewarding discovery.

What does the 'Amen' involve? Our 'Amen' is our acceptance of what God proposes for us in Jesus Christ as our salvation and our service. 'In Christ all the promises of God are yea and Amen', *i.e.*, they are all guaranteed as promises which will be kept. Our religion is the recognition that God has pledged Himself to be ours and pledging ourselves to be His in return. The 'Amen' is thus a serious and searching word. When we say it after a prayer or a hymn, we are committing ourselves to an obligation, vowing some devotion or responsibility. Do we believe what has been said or sung, and are we prepared to stand by it, ready to practise the forgiveness, the self-denial, the labour of love required by God's commanding purpose in Jesus Christ? For instance, we sing 'Nearer, my God, to Thee', but do we really wish to be nearer, to be on more intimate terms with God? It might thwart some desire or hope, and we must be honest with Him and with ourselves. To accept God's guidance needs integrity and courage, and we must be brave enough to believe in this Lord of love.

The psalmist who conversed with God, who said 'Amen', 'So be it!' to God's way of living, enjoyed it, relished it so much that he said God's Word was sweeter to him than honey. This man compared God's self-revelation to his spirit with honey, which is the purest of all foods. Its concentration of sugar is so high that bacteria and germs cannot live in it for more than an hour or two. In a royal Egyptian tomb honey was found recently three thousand three hundred years old; it was thickened and darkened by time, but pure honey still, as good for eating as ever. Because God's Word is as everlasting as that honey and outlives the shocks and changes of the ages, those who give a real assent to it and say 'Amen' find themselves rejoicing in its sweet taste and singing 'Hallelujah'. So the Amen of devotion is followed by the Hallelujah of delight, and this is the right sequence of Christian experience. 'And the four and twenty elders worshipped God saying, Amen; Hallelujah.'

What does the 'Hallelujah' involve? Sometimes life is such a heartbreaking mystery, such a poignant and baffling enigma, that the sufferer never gets the length of even gasping out an 'Amen', far less of saying 'Hallelujah'. It is very difficult to acquire the frame of mind which says, 'Praise God', and those who are having a gruelling time never reach it unless they have been living in touch with Jesus Christ. It is not a sentimental attitude but a strenuous attitude communicated to us in contact with the Lord Jesus. You see, to be able to say 'Hallelujah', 'Praise God', is not mere resignation or fatalism which accepts anything that happens as God's will and does nothing about it. That is mere 'Acquiescence, acquiescence, and the coming on of sleep'. Much of what happens in this disordered world is the very opposite of God's will, such as disease, poverty, squalor and degradation, railway

accidents and road accidents, war and cruelty. These distressing experiences are so far from what the God of love intends that He deplores them even more than we do. They are the result of an ugly dislocation in the nature of things. We should not be resigned to them but should resist them, and seek to abolish them. More than that, when we say, 'Thy will be done', let us waken up to the fact that God's will is not to be received passively but actively; it is something to be *done*.

This is where the 'Hallelujah' comes in. God does not explain the suffering but gives victory over the suffering. The major need of the stricken spirit is not a satisfying theory but sufficient power to overcome. The onlookers may be more puzzled and pained than he is because of what he has to go through, but he is so hard-pressed that he has no time to wonder why; he is in the thick of the fight for survival, and he finds compensations, resources and reliefs to carry him through. He has got what he wanted—the staying-power to make him triumphant over trouble, and he exults, exclaiming, 'Praise God!' What the gospel gives us is not a comforting theory but conquering strength. Our mental curiosity is not always satisfied, dark mysteries remain, but our most clamant want is union with the victorious Christ, to partake of His reinforcing presence, which can make us winners in the day of ordeal. In *A Tale of Two Cities* Dickens tells how carts were rumbling through the thronged streets of Paris to the guillotine. In one cart were two prisoners: a brave man, Sidney Carter, who was giving his life for a friend, and beside him a young girl. She had seen him in prison and observed the gentleness and courage of his face. 'If I may ride with you', she asked, thinking of the last dread journey, 'will you let me hold your hand? I am not afraid, but I am little and weak, and it will give me more courage.' So when they rode together now, her hand was in his; and even when they had reached the place of execution, there was no fear in her eyes. She looked at the quiet, composed face of the man beside her, and said, 'I think you were sent to me from heaven'. Allies and supports are always sent from heaven in some form to believing hearts in their extremity. Unexpected reliefs often come at the worst moment, because God befriends His own and accompanies them to the last. 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me.' Christ goes with us to journey's end and beyond, and that is why we cannot only say 'Amen', 'So be it', but also 'Hallelujah', 'Praise God'.

Acceptance of God's purpose, experience of God's succour, brings a blithe experience. It gives a happy glow of fulfilment and satisfaction to discover that our religion is far more of a tonic than a tax, and puts more into us than it takes out. The question is often asked, 'Is the Christian life rewarding?' Albert Schweitzer ought to know, and he was speaking out of his own experience when he wrote about the happiness of the faithful Christian: 'Existence will become harder for him in every respect than it would be if he lived for himself, but at the same time it will be richer, more beautiful, and happier. It will become, instead of mere living, a real experience of life.' That explains the sequence of Christian experience. First, accept God's purpose, become co-workers with Him; then you begin to enjoy God and find Him exhilarating; first say Amen to the Divine call to commit yourself to Jesus Christ; and then you go on to make discoveries of the victories He can give you in the adventure of serving Him. That is the true order of progression from 'Amen' to 'Hallelujah', and tells how we advance in the awareness that God's grace is sufficient for us. 'And the four and twenty elders worshipped God, saying Amen; Hallelujah!'

Sixth Sunday after Trinity

Individual Responsibility

By the Reverend George W. H. Loudon, B.D., S.T.M., Uddingston

'For every man shall bear his own burden.'—Gal 6^5.

The scene is any Army training area; the time, any time during the early years of World War Two. A company of infantry is returning to camp after a fairly severe exercise. Quite obviously, it has been nearly too much for some of them; they could not march at all but for the help of their comrades, who relieve them of this or that piece of impedimenta. But now they are almost within sight from the camp; the command is given, 'March to attention'; and even the weariest man among them must take back the pack or rifle that a kindly mate was carrying for him. For every man is responsible for his own equipment, and at this point in the march each man must be carrying his own pack.

'Every man must carry his own pack'—that is pretty much what St. Paul is saying in our text; and one wonders whether, as he composed the sentence, he had in his mind's eye a first-century counterpart to the scene just described. Certainly, whether we locate it in the first century or the twentieth, it is a picture true to our human experience over a much wider range of life than is covered by route-marches! There are times when a man

may or may not help another—may or may not be helped by him ; but there is also a time when

> we may no more be kind,
> Nor either ease the other's breath.

This is a responsibility which cannot be set aside, which each man must undertake for himself.

1. We spoke a moment ago of how this experience extends over a wide area of human life ; but at first sight it might seem to be an area continually shrinking and growing narrower. So many influences and circumstances seem nowadays to be combining to lessen and reduce the field in which the individual's responsibility may be exercised. In the matter of the upbringing of children, for example, the State has in large measure taken over many of the functions that used to be regarded as a parent's special privilege and care. In the world of industry, we see the continual growth or creation of great corporations and combines, each to take the place of a score or more individual firms and businesses. In the control of public affairs, centralization is the order of the day.

All this, it must be agreed, makes individual responsibility difficult to exercise ; and the situation is not helped by the sense, that grows upon us with the years, of the sheer complexity of things. In it all, who can say where responsibility truly lies ? And would St. Paul, if he were living in the conditions of *our* world, have expressed himself as confidently as he did these nineteen centuries ago ?

Yes, it is difficult ; but perhaps the problem is not so unsurmountable as it seems. The growth of centralization has increased rather than lessened the need for good citizens ; and citizens are individual men and women. The corporations and combines, however great, have still to depend on the skill and faithfulness, which is to say the responsibility, of the individual workman ; a fact tragically illustrated by some recent labour disputes, when a strike by a few hundred men threw thousands into enforced idleness. And the fact that Government has charged itself, at least in part, with the task of feeding and caring for the children, does not mean that their fathers and mothers should have no more to do with them.

2. So far, what we have been saying might be described as mere worldly wisdom—something equally to be discerned by believer, agnostic, or infidel. And it is tempting to pass the same judgment on the text from which we began. We need then to remind ourselves of another utterance of the great apostle—his proud but humble claim, ' We have the mind of Christ.' Putting it more prosaically, and in less exalted terms—it is a *Christian* opinion that St. Paul is expressing here. Behind it there lies the whole wealth of his experience as a *believing* man ; and we cannot begin to estimate its richness unless we take into account the truths by which he sought to live, alike before his conversion and after it.

And I would stress ' before his conversion '. Surely it becomes clearer the more one studies the Old Testament, that this is the record of God's dealing in *individual* terms with His people ? ' I am the Lord *thy* God, which brought *thee* out of the land of Egypt. . . . *Thou* shalt have no other gods before me.' What we have learned to call the ' I-thou ' relationship is what determines God's whole dealing with us. And He has made us so that we are able to answer—to be *responsible*—when He speaks to us.

But, of course, it was not on this only that the apostle's conviction was founded. He saw the same personal, individual dealing in the New Covenant, but in a far more intimate degree. The ' I-thou ' encounter of the Damascus road was stamped too deeply on his heart and mind to leave any room for doubt.

And these things do not change. The God who spoke to Moses still speaks to us—and in the same terms. The Christ who spoke to Saul the Pharisee still speaks to you and to me, as individuals who are responsible in His sight. No amount of changing world-conditions can alter that any more than they can alter our power to make the New Testament's words our own and say ' the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me '.

3. We *are* responsible, then, as individuals before God ; and what are the practical consequences of it all ? We *are* responsible ; but what precisely is the nature of our responsibility ? As to that, our text affords us no clue ; but a very clear indication lies on the same page of Scripture with it, a mere three verses away. ' Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.' It may seem a contradiction, but it is true ; the burden we must bear, the responsibility that is inescapably ours, is the burden that belongs to our neighbour.

And for this, the ' good deed ' is not enough. Heaven forbid that we should disparage the practice of them : they are, often enough, lights that shine to cheer us in the dark. But they would shine more brightly if they had always the backing of the good disposition. There may be truth of a kind in the well worn tag that the road to hell is paved with good intentions : but it is also truth, and of a more important kind, that we must needs have a good intention if we are to travel hopefully on the road to heaven.

Let me put that another way. It is never enough to take the other man's burden on your shoulder. You must take it on your soul. And that involves us in a continual and imaginative exercise of sympathy and understanding. It is only the parent who can put himself in the child's

place, and see things through the child's eyes, who can help to overcome a youngster's fear of the dark. So many of the burdens of men and women are just like that; and we, under God, are charged with discovering them and understanding them and bearing them. It is the glorious responsibility which He lays on each one of us; and the measure of what He thinks it possible for us to do, and to be.

SEVENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

Power and Prayer

BY THE REVEREND R. WATSON MATHEWSON, B.D., S.T.M., EDINBURGH

'When he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately, Why could not we cast him out?' —Mk 9[28].

Point was given to the disciples' question about an epileptic boy by the fact that it was not so long since the power to heal diseases and cast out devils had been conferred upon them. It is true that it was a power that they had seldom been called on to exercise. There had been no need for it, for the Master Himself had almost always been with them. There had been no call on them personally to practise their gift—that is except during one brief period when with other seventy disciples they had been sent into the villages round about to proclaim Christ's Kingdom—then greatly daring they had attempted to heal the odd sick person in His name, and to their astonishment it had worked. But all that was some time ago now, and in any case they had never come across a problem like this before.

They must have felt utterly abandoned and humiliated. They had lost *face*; but they were also losing *faith*, faith in themselves, and more particularly faith in the power they were supposed to have received when they had been commissioned.

If you want an indication of the depth of their humiliation listen to the boy's father—'I asked your *disciples*', he says to Jesus, 'to cast the devil out of my boy, but *they could not*; now if *you* can do anything, maybe you will help us'. His experience of the disciples had been so discouraging that he had practically lost his faith in their Master also. And God forbid that any of Christ's brethren should lose their faith in Him because of the weaknesses they see in us.

But at least the first disciples weren't prepared to ignore their failure. They knew that events had demonstrated a serious discrepancy between what they *believed* they could do as Christians, and what in fact they were *able* to do, between profession and performance.

Why could we not? That is a question that has a habit of recurring. The discrepancy between profession and performance repeats itself.

On the one hand we belong to the Church of the living God. We have at work in our midst the very spirit of God Himself, the spirit of wisdom and might and of a sound mind. We, too, in our way, with the Church throughout the ages, have been given power to heal diseases and cast out devils. And yet, on the other hand, the diseases still remain, and not just the diseases of the body, but the even more important diseases that can ravage the souls of men. And the devils still occupy the citadels of men's hearts, and not just the evil spirits that challenge the skill of the psychiatrists, but the far less easily exorcised spirits of evil that take possession of whole peoples and impel them to hate and destroy their fellows.

'All power is given unto me', said our Saviour. 'To as many as received Him to them gave He power. . . . He gave them power to heal diseases and cast out evil spirits.' The power is there, but the power-failures are all too apparent when we look into our own lives, or into our church life, or into the life of our world. Why cannot Christianity do more?

Why could we not? We ask that question, for instance, about the compulsive sins that beset us and overthrow us. We hammer away at these besetting sins, attempting to recruit the scattered forces of our wills to combat them, yes even making them the subject of impassioned prayer on these occasions when we have realized that they are on top of us.

Or if it is not a besetting sin that prompts the question, it may be a realization of the tyranny of self. For don't think for a moment that all the prisoners of self are unaware of their bondage. Often they envy the happy extrovert who can evidently lose himself in the interests of the outside world. Why can we not cast out self?

Why can we not cast out the subversive spirits that cripple the Church—the spirits of division and indecision? Why cannot we cast them out?

Or to bring the question home. Why in our own community are there children who grow up as pagans, young people who go adrift, and adults who waste their lives, and aged folk who feel themselves unwanted and die without hope? Does it worry Satan that there is a Church in the midst of this community? Or do his devils know that they have nothing to fear from us?

And so with all the other evil spirits that bedevil modern life and breed racial and international enmity—greed, hatred, lust, fear—why cannot we

Christians who have been given freedom of access to the powers of God, why cannot we cast them out ?

Christ's answer when it comes is perhaps not quite the answer we would expect. He does not lay it down that the power to cast out devils depends on more sacrificial service, or on greater obedience, or on increased church activity. Not piety, nor orthodoxy, but *prayer*. 'This kind cannot be driven out by anything but prayer'. Our Authorized Version of the Bible adds the words, 'and fasting', but this seems almost certainly a later addition. It does not appear in the earliest documents. So quite simply Christ's answer to the disciples' question was that this kind of cure demanded prayer. And when Jesus told His disciples that they had failed with the epileptic boy because they had failed in prayer, in effect He was saying to them, 'You don't live close enough to God'.

Why could not we cast it out ? Ask that question about the compulsive sins that beset us and overthrow us and the answer comes—this kind cannot be driven out by anything but prayer, that is, by opening the door of communion so that the life of God comes into our lives. We will never combat these besetting sins of ours by bringing against them our own depleted unreplenished spirits. But let God Himself undertake the battle for us, as He has promised He will do, and from that moment we experience what Thomas Chalmers called 'the expulsive power of a great affection'.

Why could not we cast it out ? Ask that question about the tyranny of self. The domination of the self at the centre will yield only to the presence of some one else at the centre. That is what St. Paul meant when he made his great confession—'Yet not I but Christ liveth in me'.

Or let the question come home to our own church and community and still the challenge applies. In prayer lies the power to deal with all evil. Who, for instance, can say how much more Christ might have done through us, His disciples, in our streets and homes and within the walls of the church if our prayers had been the expression of our whole lives instead of, so often, little more than a weekly exercise ?

Sustained communion with God—put in these words prayer sounds so exacting and onerous, so tedious and exhausting. But think of it in terms of an intimate friendship with one who loves us and is utterly trustworthy, and it discloses the secret of all that is most joyful and exhilarating in the Christian life. For in this friendship, when we submit ourselves to it, we are humbled and at the same time uplifted to find that the Divine power can work even through us, for the casting out of evil spirits and the healing of diseased souls.

EIGHTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

A Tract for the Times

BY THE REVEREND R. LEONARD SMALL, O.B.E., D.D., EDINBURGH

'Ruth said, Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee.'—Ru 1^{16}.

In a glass case in Dunvegan Castle in Skye visitors are shown a yard of faded tussore silk—the famous Fairy Flag which must never be taken out and used, but kept safe for the sake of its memories and associations. The Bible is full of passages which have come to be treated like that, they are guarded and cherished by sentiment, till they become shut away from real life, yet that was the very last way the original writer would have had them treated. He meant to lift up a banner of truth to challenge men, to blazon forth a new idea, not to hang limp, like some old regimental colour, but to fly bravely out in the breeze of reality. That is particularly true of the unknown writer of this lovely Book of Ruth, writing, as is generally agreed out of the post-exilic situation. The Jews had made certain great discoveries in exile, notably that God was still with them, even in Babylon, and that, in the inevitable process of 'fraternization' they had something to give to their heathen neighbours. Now they were settled again in their own land ; many of them were inter-married with wives of non-Jewish blood, and they were being told they must break off all such contacts. It was a very real and grave problem, for at least two issues were involved. They must guard against the danger of 'going native', losing their distinctiveness, betraying the purpose for which God brought them out of Egypt, and had now brought them back from exile ; but they must not lose the sense of having something to give, and how could they give it by coming out and being separate ?

Fundamentally it was the issue of segregation or integration, which in so many forms bedevils the contemporary situation. It is against exactly that kind of situation of tension, prejudice and bitter feeling that the story of Ruth is written, a true tract for the times. It is the story of the foreign wife, or widow, walking the streets of the little town of Bethlehem, as foreign as an Indian woman-student in her sari in the streets of Edinburgh and far more noticeable, as alien as the German wife brought by her Scots soldier-husband to a Highland village where half the younger men spent five years in German P.O.W. Camps, and with much the same legacy of bitterness. It is the lovely story of how she was treated with decency by the rough reapers and with courtesy by Boaz when she

claimed in terms of Jewish law the protection of her next-of-kin, foreign though she might be. She marries Boaz, bears him a son, is accepted into the community. What a challenge this book flaunts before us, touching all sorts of very real issues.

God has a purpose which cuts across and overtops every barrier. This is a story with a thread of clear purpose running through it. Ruth, foreigner, outsider, heathen, is brought into the family of God's chosen people. The barriers of blood, race and faith are all overcome. How wonderfully her story foreshadows the coming of Christ to Bethlehem to draw all men to Himself, and to break down the middle wall of partition—Christ who died with His arms outspread, as if to draw the whole world together. We, who in this divided world call ourselves by His name, have still much to learn. How apt we are to assume, or let it be assumed without protest, that God has a purpose for Britain with her fifty million people but not, or at least not in quite the same way, for China with her six hundred and fifty million, increasing at the rate of twenty-five millions a year. How easy it is to imagine that God is interested in the preservation of this political system, but not that, and that when it comes to real issues God is bound to favour the European rather than, say, the African or the Asian. When we do that, what do we more than the Boer farmer with his Old Testament God who has appointed certain races to be for ever hewers of wood and drawers of water? Or, what of the barriers of creed of which our very drive towards greater nearness makes us increasingly aware? The recent conversations between the Anglican and Presbyterian churches have revealed not only the amount of prejudice that exists but also the very real barriers in the way of intercommunion. Is it not very tempting for each denomination, in all sincerity, to think of God's purpose applying in a peculiar way to its own followers, until the point is reached when those 'outside' are not of the 'true' Church? To face one further issue—for all our love of freedom and belief in the worth of all men there is still a long way to go before we dare claim, in Britain or America, that the barriers between class and class have ceased to matter. Ruth has much to teach us still of the purpose of the love of God that surmounts all barriers.

No nation, or denomination, or class, or type has a monopoly of the grace of God. His gifts of character and personality are everywhere to be found, and everywhere challenge us. What shines out of this story is the sheer goodness, the sterling character, the steadfast loyalty of Ruth. We forget that she is foreign, forget the alien background from which she came, and remember only what she is. The parallel is not hard to draw to-day. You see a nurse in the familiar uniform busied with a nurse's task in a hospital ward. At first all you notice is that she comes from West Africa and her skin is black. Then you listen to the way the patients speak of her care and concern for them, nothing is a bother to her, nothing too much for her to do for them. You cease to ask where she has come from. You see only what she is in herself. What does it matter if that young wife in the Highland village is German? She is a splendid wife and mother, clever, hard-working, with a smile and a helping hand for every one. How kind ordinary people can be, not least those who make no profession of religion.

How true it often is that 'there are far better folk outside the Church'—yes, and how wise we were to accept the fact and learn from it, and from them. Did not Jesus tell to a Jewish audience an immortal story in which the good, religious Jews showed up very badly and a Samaritan 'outsider' showed a shining example? We who are Protestants have much to learn from the 'good' Roman Catholic with his devotion and discipline, and every Christian could find something to emulate in the readiness of the Muslim to pray wherever the hour of prayer may find him, something to challenge him in the Communist with his burning sense of the worthwhileness of his creed. Above all, here in Ruth's story is a challenge to show to Christ her quality of loyalty, not sentimental, but strong, not demonstrative, but deep.

Of course this unknown writer is guilty of a piece of special pleading when he portrays Ruth, the outsider, at her best. He does not argue that all the foreign wives were like Ruth. But he does suggest, by implication at least, that it is fair and wise to judge a nation or people or a person by the best to which they can rise. In other words, we should think of the African not at his most ignorant and superstitious, remembering Mau Mau and kindred evils, but in terms of a man like Dr. Aggrey of Achimota. Is this just sentimentality, wishful thinking, that ignores the stark realities of the dilemma which in so many forms confronts us all? Or is this unknown writer from the long ago directing our thoughts into the way of Christ? In *David Copperfield* Steerforth utters a plea which, sooner or later, is echoed by every human heart: 'Remember me at my best.' Who has ever answered that plea like Christ who possessed the gift of seeing the best in men and bringing forth that best? He looked at men at their worst, and made excuses for them, praying: 'Father forgive them'. He gives to men still the power to become the best that they can be. He teaches still to His own the love that is eager to believe the best. Without that love will the dilemma which called forth this tract for the times ever be solved?

Recent Foreign Theology

The Pre-exilic Prophets and the Cultus. One of the questions much debated in recent years is that of the relation of the pre-exilic prophets to the cultus. The hard opposition of prophets to the cultus leading to its total repudiation in their view, as understood by scholars of an earlier generation, has given place to an interest in cultic prophets, and the ascription of not a little in the prophetic books to such prophets, and sometimes to the idea that the major prophets were themselves cultic officials. That the softening of the lines between the prophets and the cultus has sometimes been carried much too far is certainly the case. A German scholar, R. Hentschke, has therefore re-examined the question of the relation of the prophets to the cultus,[1] and after a full consideration of the evidence has reached the conclusion that in an age when people attached a magical significance to the due performance of the ritual, the pre-exile canonical prophets rejected the cultus root and branch. This seems to the reviewer to go too far in the other direction. Their rejection of men's attitude to the cultus does not necessarily involve their rejection of the cultus itself, and the uncompromising declaration that the acts of worship witnessed in the shrines in their day were meaningless because men brought no true meaning to them does not mean that the prophets thought religion should find no expression in worship. While not a little in the present study is valuable, more cautiously drawn conclusions are to be desired.

Gospel and Myth. Professor G. Miegge, of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Rome, has written in Italian a study of the thought of Professor Bultmann, which has now been translated into French, under the title *Gospel and Myth in the thought of Rudolf Bultmann*.[2] It has a Foreword by J.-L. Leuba, who notes the paucity of access to the work of Bultmann available to the French reader. In the volume the author treats of the problem of presenting the gospel in our age to which Bultmann addressed himself, of the interpretation of the New Testament, and especially the interpretation of Paul and the Fourth Gospel, offered by Bultmann, of the setting of Bultmann's work in the current debates on existentialism, and of Bultmann's definition of myth and of demythologization. Throughout the study is furnished with extracts from Bultmann's own writings in translation. The author offers an account of the thought of Bultmann which is both objective and sympathetic, while at the same time critical of the tendency to subordinate history to theology, and to pay less attention to what Christ was than to what men believed about Him. Nevertheless he acknowledges the faith that animates all the work of Bultmann, and his book will be found to offer something more understanding than the harsh condemnation sometimes expressed. There is an appendix on Roman Catholic reactions to Bultmann.

The Old Testament Prophets. A posthumous work by the late Emil Balla has been published under the editorship of Professor Fohrer, entitled *The Message of the Prophets*.[3] It is intended for the general reader and it presents large extracts from the prophets in translation, with brief accounts of the prophets, but with little discussion of the problems raised. A number of passages are relegated to a post-exilic date which scholars to-day treat with more caution, and no evidence for this relegation is offered. Amongst these passages are Is 2^{2-4} 9^{2-7} 11^{1-9}. This reflects somewhat uncritically the older critical view. Similarly the Book of Ezekiel is treated as coming from the hand of Ezekiel, who prophesied in Babylonia from 593 B.C., with no reference to the many challenges to this view in recent years. Some reference to more recent positions might have been expected, even where those positions are rejected for sound reasons. Balla accepts the view propounded by Mowinckel nearly forty years ago that the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah is the prophet himself, and follows the consequential view which some scholars adopted, that the last of the Songs is by a disciple of the prophet. Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah are almost wholly ignored, and in other respects the treatment is slighter than could have been desired. While the friends of Professor Balla—amongst whom the reviewer is to be counted—will be glad to have this fruit of his pen, its usefulness would have been greater if it had appeared when its positions were current.

Eissfeldt Festschrift. A *Festschrift* was published in honour of Professor Otto Eissfeldt, of Halle, to mark his sixtieth birthday. Now another *Festschrift* has appeared to mark his seventieth birthday in September 1957. Like its predecessor

[1] *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, No. 75) [1957]. Töpelmann, Berlin; DM 20.

[2] *L'Evangile et le Mythe dans la pensée de Rudolf Bultmann*, tr. by Hélène Naef (*Bibliothèque Théologique*) [1958]. Delachaux et Niestlé, Neuchatel and Paris; Swiss Fr. 7.50.

[3] *Die Botschaft der Propheten* [1958]. Mohr, Tübingen; DM 15.50 paper; DM 19.80 cloth.

this volume testifies to the widespread affection and esteem in which Eissfeldt is held. Its twenty-three essays come from eleven different countries, and the title of the volume, *From Ugarit to Qumran*,[1] indicates the range of Eissfeldt's own contributions to scholarship as well as the range of this volume. As always in the case of such volumes, an adequate review is here impossible, and all that can be done is to give some idea of the subjects dealt with. On the Ugaritic texts there is one article, in which Segert, of Prague, examines scribal errors. There are several studies in the field of grammar, philology and textual criticism, Vriezen writing on the particle כִּי, Humbert on the root יָצַר, Baumgartner on Hebrew lexicography and Ziegler on the vocabulary of the Greek text of Ecclesiasticus, and Driver on passages in Isaiah. Mowinckel writes on the Rachel and Leah stems, and Stoebe on David and Michal. On sacrifices there are two essays, Rost dealing with the Israelite burnt-offering and de Vaux with sacrifices of swine in Palestine and the ancient Orient. The only Jewish contribution is by Daube, who writes on legal ideas reflected in the narratives of the Pentateuch. Lindblom examines the question of the Canaanite origin of Israelite prophecy, Hempel pathos and humour in Israelite education, Bardtke the idea of awakening in exilic and post-exilic literature, Sekine, of Tokio, creation and redemption in the Book of Job, and North the essence of idolatry. Maass studies the light shed by the Hazor excavations on the Israelite conquest, while Winton Thomas returns to the question of the prophet in the Lachish letters, and Albright takes up the vexed question of South Arabian chronology. Of Qumran studies there are two: Meyer presents a grammatical study of a Semitic present-future in these texts, while the present reviewer writes on relations between the Qumran sect, the Essenes and the Zealots. Here is varied fare from which every reader may pick something to his taste.

Original Sin. In the series *Lectio Divina* there has appeared a little work on *Original Sin in Scripture* by A.-M. Dubarle.[2] The six chapters of the book have appeared in various journals as separate studies, and it will be found convenient to have them gathered together here. The opening chapter contains a general survey of Old Testament thought on the condition of man as the heir of suffering and death, and notes the recognition of the universality of sin and of the solidarity of man with his contemporaries and with past generations, as well as the idea of collective sin and of sin as a contagious disease. The second chapter is devoted to the study of the story of Paradise and of the first sin. This is followed by chapters dealing with the Wisdom books, the Gospels, and St. Paul, while the final chapter considers the question of original sin in relation to the justice of God. Here we are brought back to the question of the solidarity of the individual with the race, and it is in this setting that the question of the justice of God is to be considered. We are the heirs of the achievements as well as the mistakes of those who have gone before us, and if the sense of injustice cries out against the debits of the heritage, it should be equally disturbed by the assets—without which man's estate would be sorry indeed.

Geography of Palestine. The Jerusalem Bible and its series of supplementary studies is familiar to the readers of these columns. In the supplementary series an excellent little work on the *Geography of the Holy Land*, written by M. du Buit, has been published.[3] The first volume contains the text, and the second eighteen maps. The text contains a description of the physical features of Palestine, its climate, its soil and its mineral resources, its vegetation, agriculture and fauna, and the sociological character of its various zones, followed by a study of the broad divisions of the land, and a historical review. This last describes the main lines of communication, the distribution of the Israelite tribes and the pre-Israelite population, and the successive organization of the land under the united monarchy and the divided monarchy, and under the Persians, Macedonians and Romans. The whole is packed with information which should help every reader of the Bible to understand better what he reads. A most valuable feature of the book is the onomastic index at the end, which lists the place names in the Bible with reference to the principal passages which mention them, and adds the modern identifications where they can be made. The maps are less impressive to the eye, though they contain much information, and will repay careful study.

New Italian Biblical Journal. A new Italian bimonthly journal, issued by a group of Milanese Biblical scholars, has begun to appear under the title *The Bible and the Orient*.[4] The first issue, which is for January–February 1959, contains articles by such well-known scholars as Rinaldi and de Fraine, amongst others. Rinaldi writes on 'Inspiration and Literary Criticism' and de Fraine

[1] *Von Ugarit nach Qumran* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, No. 77) [1958]. Töpelmann, Berlin; DM. 40.

[2] *Le Péché original dans l'Ecriture* [1958]. Les Editions du Cerf, Paris; Fr. 750.

[3] *Géographie de la Terre Sainte*, 2 vols. [1958]. Les Editions du Cerf, Paris; Fr. 1200.

[4] *Bibbia e Oriente*, ed. G. Rinaldi; subscription L. 1800.

on ' Theocracy and monarchy in Israel.' There are exegetical articles (on the Marriage at Cana and the Presentation in the Temple), archaeological notes, an article on the historicity of the Book of Judith (dealing with Grintz's book in Modern Hebrew on Judith), and reviews. Altogether a varied and interesting fare is provided, and if the promise of the first issue is maintained the new journal should soon secure a place for itself.

Manchester H. H. ROWLEY

Entre Nous

Nineteenth-Century Religion in England

It is always very necessary to define the meaning of words ; and such definition is specially necessary when words have a certain similarity in apparent meaning. In thinking about the state of religion in nineteenth-century England it is necessary to be clear about the difference between *agnosticism* and *scepticism*. This difference emerges very clearly in the earlier sections of Mr. A. O. J. Cockshut's *Anglican Attitudes : A Study of Victorian Religious Controversies* (Collins ; 16s. net). Agnostics many of the great Victorian figures were ; sceptics they certainly were not.

' The nineteenth century was the first in which a high proportion of thinking people in England consciously and deliberately rejected Christianity.' In George Gissing's novel ' Born in Exile ' ' the fact that a man has studied geology and yet remains a Christian is treated as incontrovertible proof of his feeble intelligence '. It is regarded as certain and obvious that no one with any brain is a Christian.

And yet the fact remains that in a sense these agnostics regarded themselves as more religious than the orthodox churchmen. They were quite sure that Christianity had a core of moral truth which they were the first to separate from ' its debilitating husk of dogma and miracle '. A pamphlet on ' Secularism and its Misrepresentation ' affirms that most secularists ' feel the mystery of the universe to be too profound for their minds to fathom, and humbly bow their heads before it in conscious impotence and wonder ; an attitude which displays far greater reverence than is manifested by the presumptuous dogmatism of the theologians '.

George Eliot, having lost her faith, is able to write : ' But I have faith in the working out of higher possibilities than the Catholic or any other Church has presented ; and those who have strength to wait and endure are bound to accept no formula which their whole souls—their intelligence as well as their emotions—do not embrace with entire reverence. The " highest calling and election " is to do without opium, and live through all our pain with conscious clear-eyed courage.' It is clear how often the word *reverence* is on the lips of the agnostic.

Out of the material of this nineteenth century Mr. Cockshut chooses three controversies, all of which have to do with the relationship of the Church and the State.

The first is the Gorham case in which Phillpotts of Exeter prosecuted Gorham for refusing to accept the doctrine of baptismal regeneration except in a Calvinist sense. Gorham was condemned by the lower court, but acquitted by the higher court—with the full approval of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury. The second was the case of the volume known as ' Essays and Reviews ', whose authors were called by the orthodox ' The Seven against Christ '. Two of them were prosecuted, and again were condemned by the lower court and acquitted by the higher. The third is the famous Colenso case. Because of his views on the historicity of the Bible Colenso was deprived of his bishopric of Natal by the Archbishop of Cape Town. The secular courts did not uphold the verdict ; in spite of that the Church appointed another Bishop of Natal ; and until Colenso's death there were two bishops of Natal.

The interest of all this is that it brings into the full light of day the relationship between Church and State. When the State began overturning the verdicts of the Church certain attitudes emerged. Some said that the only thing possible was to go over to the Roman Church. Keble made the extraordinary claim : ' If the Church of England were to fail, it would be found in my parish '. There the ancient rightness of the Church was unimpaired. Pusey believed that nothing that the Church has decided since the Church was broken up into fragments matters ; and that for all matters of belief we must go back to the decisions of the early centuries when the Church was really and visibly one. Stanley was the almost complete latitudinarian who in effect believed that the only person who could shut a man out of the Church of England was the man himself, and that a man was a member of the Church of England so long as he thought he was.

This is a fascinating, a scholarly and an important book. The issues raised in it are far from dead ; and this is a book which not only gives information ; it also presents a challenge to thought. WILLIAM BARCLAY

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